THE

British Plutarch:

OR,

BIOGRAPHICAL ENTERTAINER.

Being a SELECT COLLECTION *of*

The LIVES at large

Of the moſt EMINENT MEN,

Natives of *Great Britain* and *Ireland;*

From the Reign of HENRY VIII. to GEORGE II.

Both inclusive:

Whether diſtinguiſhed as

Stateſmen, | Warriors, | Poets,.....

Patriots,... | Divines,.. | Philoſophers.

Adorned with COPPER PLATES.

VOL. VII.

LONDON,

Printed by the KING's Authority,

For EDWARD DILLY in the Poultry;

MDCCLXII.

J. Ellis ſculp.

BRITISH MUSEUM
FEB

CONTENTS

OF THE

SEVENTH VOLUME.

Page

GEORGE MONK, - - - - - 1

Edward Hyde, - - - - - - - 21

Anthony Aſhley Cooper, - - - 51

James Butler, - - - - - - - 71

John Wilmot, - - - - - - - - 148

CONTENTS

OF THE

SEVENTH VOLUME.

Page

George Monk, - - - - - 1

Edward Hyde, - - - - - - 21

Anthony Ashley Cooper, - - - 51

James Butler, - - - - - - 71

John Wilmot, - - - - - - 103

B M

Tringham Sculp

Monck D: of Albemarle

THE

BRITISH PLUTARCH.

THE LIFE OF

GEORGE MONK.

GEORGE MONK, duke of Albermarle, the renowned reſtorer of king Charles II. to his crown and kingdom, was deſcended of a family ſettled ſo early as the reign of Henry III. at Potheridge, in Devonſhire, where he was born on the ſixth of December, 1608. He was likewiſe chiefly educated there by his grand-father and god-father Sir George Smith, with whom he moſtly reſided.

He dedicated himſelf to arms from his youth, no proviſion being expected from his father Sir Thomas Monk; whoſe reduced fortune, however, brought an affront upon him, which was reſented by our young warrior in ſuch a ſpirited manner as obliged him to enter into the ſervice ſooner than was intended; which rendered it neceſſary for him, when not quite ſeventeen years of age, to enter as a volunteer under his kinſman Sir Richard Greenvile, then lying at Plymouth, and juſt upon ſetting out under lord Wimbedon, on the ill-concerted, and worſe executed, expedition againſt Spain.

The ill ſucceſs which attended our young volunteer's firſt eſſay, neither damped his courage nor changed his martial inclination; for the very next year he obtained a pair of colours under Sir John Burroughs, in the expedition to the iſle of Rhee and Rochell. From hence he returned at the end of that war in 1628; and the following year, being juſt then of age, he ſerved as an enſign in the Low-Countries, firſt under lord Oxford, and then under lord Goring, by whom he was promoted to the rank of captain of his own company. In this ſtation he was concerned in ſeveral ſieges and battles; and, having, in ten years ſervice, by a ſteady and cloſe application to the duties of his profeſſion, made himſelf an abſolute maſter of the art military, and become extremely uſeful to the ſervice, he retired on a diſguſt given him by the prince of Orange, and

and returned to his native country juſt on the breaking out of the firſt war between king Charles I. and his Scottiſh ſubjects.

The captain's reputation, backed by the powerful recommendations of the earl of Leiceſter and lady Carliſle, procured him the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the regiment belonging to lord Newport; in which poſt he ſerved in the king's northern expeditions; wherein what little was performed the lieutenant-colonel had an ample ſhare in; and, perhaps, it was none of that prince's leaſt misfortunes, that our hero had ſo ſmall a portion of power and influence at that critical juncture.

The treaty commenced at Rippon, and the ſummoning a parliament had ſcarce put an end to the Scotch war, when the horrid Iriſh rebellion broke out; to quell which, lord Leiceſter was appointed to ſucceed the late earl of Strafford, who went with colonel Monk there (that lord having raiſed him to that poſt in his own regiment) where he did ſuch conſiderable ſervice, that the lords-juſtices appointed him governor of Dublin; but the parliament interceding, that authority was veſted in another; and ſoon after, the colonel returned to England with his regiment, along with the reſt of the forces ſent by the marquis of Ormond, on his ſigning a truce with the Iriſh rebels, purſuant to the king's orders; which was done on the fifteenth of September, 1643: but, on the colonel's arrival at Briſtol, he was met by orders ſent both from Ireland and Ox-

ford, directing lord Hawley, governor of Briſtol, to ſecure him till further orders. However, his lordſhip (on being informed of the unjuſt ſuſpicions entertained of the colonel, purely for being an officer under the earl of Leiceſter, who was nominated by the parliament to command the forces raiſed, and paid by them for the Iriſh ſervice; and from a fear that he might not willingly enter into a war againſt thoſe whoſe pay he received; and being ſatisfied he had no ſort of inclination to ſide with them) ſuffered him to proceed to Oxford on his bare parole; where he ſo fully juſtified himſelf to lord Digby, the then ſecretary of ſtate, that he was by that nobleman introduced to his majeſty; but his regiment was given to colonel Warren, who had been his major.

In order to make him amends for this precipitancy, the king raiſed him to the rank of major-general in the Iriſh brigade, then commanded by lord Byron, and employed in the ſiege of Nantwich, in Cheſhire; to which poſt major-general Monk ſpeedily repaired, but arrived only time enough to ſhare in the unfortunate ſurpriſal of that whole brigade by Sir Thomas Fairfax, who brought a conſiderable body of the parliament's forces to the relief of that place; from whence he was ſent to Hull, amongſt the other priſoners, and was in a ſhort time conveyed from thence to the Tower of London, where he remained in cloſe confinement till the thirteenth of November, 1646;

1646; when, at the ſollicitation of his kinſman, lord Liſle, eldeſt ſon to the earl of Leiceſter, who, on the marquis of Ormond's declaring for the king, was made deputy of that kingdom, he took the covenant, engaged with the parliament, and agreed to accept a command under him in the Iriſh ſervice, as the only means to be enlarged from his tedious confinement.

Lord Leiceſter and the colonel ſet out on their journey to Ireland on the twenty-eighth of January after; but, as the marquis of Ormond refuſed obedience to the orders of the parliament, nor would deliver up the city of Dublin to their deputy without the king's command, lord Liſle and his forces were obliged to ſteer for Cork, near which they landed; but not being able to do any great matters, and his lordſhip's commiſſion expireing, on the ſeventeenth day of April he embarked again for England, together with colonel Monk; who was not long in a ſtate of inactivity, having the command in chief of all the parliament's forces in the north of Ireland conferred upon him, together with the regiment late colonel Brocket's; whereupon he returned for the third time to Ireland, and landed at Belfaſt.

The Scots under the command of major-general Monroe, refuſing to join the Engliſh in the ſervice of the parliament, colonel Monk was prevented from entering into action ſo ſoon as he choſe; but being joined by colonel

Jones, he made large amends, and diſputed the poſſeſſion of Ulſter very warmly with Owen Roe O'Neal, obliging him to raiſe the ſiege of Londonderry; and by ſecuring the command of forage, and laying waſte the country, almoſt famiſhed his army. He likewiſe managed ſo well the tilling and improving thoſe parts in his poſſeſſion, and was ſo provident in diſpoſing the booties from time to time brought in by his parties, that he made the Iriſh war nearly maintain itſelf. Yet, notwithſtanding theſe ſmall ſucceſſes, the ſuperiority of the marquis of Ormond and lord Inchequin, at the head of the Royaliſts; and the unconquerable diſtruſt of the Scots, to whom moſt of his garriſon of Dundalk revolted on their approach to that place, reduced him to the neceſſity of entering into a treaty with that bold Iriſh leader; who deceiving him, he was obliged to ſurrender Dundalk to lord Inchequin, and return to England; where he was called to an account by the parliament for having treated with the Iriſh rebels:---an affront he never forgave.

He was, perhaps, the more offended with this treatment, as he was not employed in the reduction of Ireland under Oliver Cromwell, who, all accounts agree, received conſiderable advantage from this very treaty made between O'Neal and the colonel.

During this inactivity, his elder brother dying without iſſue male, the family eſtate, by entail, devolved upon him, and he repaired

it

it from the ruinous condition in which his father and brother had left it.

He had ſcarce ſettled his private affairs when he was called in to ſerve againſt the Scots, who had proclaimed king Charles II. in that kingdom, under Oliver Cromwell, by whom he was made lieutenant general of the artillery, and had a regiment given him, compoſed of ſix companies taken out of Fenwick's, and ſix out of Haſſerig's. In this poſt he was extremely ſerviceable to Cromwell, particularly at the famous battle of Dunbar; where perſonally charging and routing Lower's regiment, he led the way to that compleat victory there obtained by the Engliſh forces.

After this victory, the lieutenant-general was employed in diſperſing a body of irregulars, known by the name of Moſs-troopers; and reducing Darlington, Roſwell, Brothwick, and Tantallon, caſtles, where they uſed to harbour; he was alſo concerned in ſettling the articles for the ſurrender of Edinburgh caſtle; and, being left commander in chief in Scotland, at the head of ſix thouſand men, by Cromwell, when he returned to England, in purſuit of Charles II. he beſieged and took Sterling, and carried Dundee by ſtorm; where he behaved with great cruelty, putting Lunſdale, the governor, and eight hundred men to the ſword.

Soon after this, St. Andrew's and Aberdeen having alſo ſubmitted to him, he was ſeized

with a violent fit of illneſs, which obliged him, in 1652, to have recourſe to the bath for his recovery. Returning from whence, he ſet out again for Scotland, as one of the commiſſioners for uniting that kingdom with the new-erected Engliſh commonwealth; which having brought to a ſucceſsful concluſion, he returned with the others again to London.

The Dutch war having now been carried on for ſome months, lieutenant-general Monk, on the death of colonel Popham, was joined with the admirals Blake and Dean in the command at ſea; in which ſervice he had made his firſt military eſſay, as has been before related; and, on the ſecond of June, 1653, he, by his courage and conduct, contributed greatly to the defeat then given to the Dutch fleet, and likewiſe to the next obtained on the thirty-firſt of July following.

While general Monk, and the other admirals, were thus triumphing over the nation's enemies, and encreaſing the honour of the commonwealth abroad, Cromwell was paving his way to the ſupremacy at home; which, on the ſixteenth of December, 1653, he obtained under the title of protector.

In this capacity he ſoon concluded a peace with the Dutch, who obtained much more favourable terms from him than what the council of ſtate and parliament had appeared willing to grant. General Monk, who lay with his

his fleet on the Dutch coaſt, remonſtrated ſo warmly againſt this peace, and thoſe remonſtrances were ſo well received by Oliver's own (called the Little, or Barebones) parliament; and Monk, on his return, was treated ſo kindly by them, that Oliver is ſaid to grow jealous of him to that degree, that he cloſeted him, to find whether he was inclined to any other intereſt; but, on receiving ſatisfaction from the general on this head, he not only took him into favour, but, on breaking out of freſh troubles in the north of Scotland, where the marquis of Athol, the earl of Glencairne, major-general Middleton, and ſeveral more of the nobility and others, had raiſed forces on the behalf of king Charles II. ſent him down there commander in chief, for which poſt he ſet out in April, 1654.

Arriving at Leith, he ſent colonel Morgan with a large detachment againſt the Royaliſts; and, having aſſiſted in proclaiming the protector at Edinburgh, on the fourteenth of May, followed himſelf with the reſt of the forces. Through the general's prudent management, this war was finiſhed by Auguſt, when he returned from the Highlands, and fixed his abode at Dalkeith, a ſeat belonging to the counteſs of Buccleugh, within four or five miles of Edinburgh; where he conſtantly reſided during the time, which was five years, that he ſtayed in Scotland; amuſing himſelf with the pleaſures of a rural life, and beloved by the people, though his government was

more abſolute than any of their princes had dared to practiſe.

The war in Scotland being put an end to thus ſpeedily and happily for the protector, he appointed a council of ſtate for that part of his government; conſiſting of the lord Broghill; general Monk; colonel Howard, created earl of Carliſle after the reſtoration; colonel William Lockhart; colonel Adrian Scroop; colonel John Whetham; and major-general Deſborough; who came to Scotland in September, 1655, and began to exerciſe their authority, which was very extenſive.

The majority of theſe commiſſioners (three of whom, lord Broghill, colonel Howard, and colonel Whetham, were afterwards very inſtrumental in the reſtoration) concurred with general Monk in almoſt every thing he propoſed; by which means the government of Scotland ſtill remained chiefly in his hands; which, together with his affable behaviour towards the better ſort of all parties, made Cromwell begin to entertain ſome ſuſpicions of him; and, in order to prevent his influence from growing too powerful, the protector uſed to make frequent changes in the forces under his command, by recalling ſuch regiments as were moſt truſted by the general, and ſending in their room thoſe who were moſt violent and refractory at home; who gave him much trouble to bring them into order, and make them ſubmit to that diſcipline which he obliged all under him ſtrictly to obſerve.

Nor was this diſtruſt entirely without ſome appearance of foundation. It is certain that the king entertained good hopes of him, and to that purpoſe wrote to him from Colen on the twelfth of Auguſt, 1655. However, the general made no ſcruple of diſcovering every ſtep taken by the Cavaliers which came to his knowledge, even to the ſending the protector this letter, and joined in promoting addreſſes to him from the army in Scotland; one of which was moſt graciouſly received by the protector on the nineteenth of March, 1657; and the ſame year he received a ſummons to Oliver's houſe of lords.

About this time George, ſecond ſon of general Monk died in his infancy, which was a great affliction to his father, who was doatingly fond of him. From this period, to the death of Oliver, the general maintained Scotland in ſubjection, and lived free from all diſturbance, not intermeddling further with the mad politicks of thoſe times, than to put what orders he received from England punctually into execution; in purſuance of which plan he proclaimed Richard Cromwell protector there after his father's death, Richard having diſpatched Dr. (afterwards Sir Thomas) Clarges then commiſſioner of the Scotch and Iriſh forces, whoſe ſiſter the general had ſome time before owned for his wife, with letters to him; to which he returned a ſuitable and reſpectful, anſwer, aiming only at ſecuring his own command; at the ſame time joining with the

reſt of the officers and army under his command, in an addreſs to the new protector, whoſe power he might eaſily foreſee would have but a ſhort date, it having been his opinion that Oliver, had he lived much longer, would ſcarce have been able to preſerve himſelf in his ſtation. And indeed Cromwell began to be apprehenſive of that great alteration which happened in the government, and fearful that the general was deeply engaged in thoſe meaſures which procured it; if we may judge from a letter wrote by him to general Monk but a little before his death, to which was added the following remarkable poſtſcript:

"There be that tell me, that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is ſaid to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart. I pray you to uſe your diligence to apprehend him and ſend him to me."

However, as Clarges had informed him, by Richard's order, that his late father had expreſly charged him to do nothing without his advice, the general recommended to him to encourage a learned, pious, moderate miniſtry in the church; to permit no councils of officers, a liberty they had too often abuſed; to call a parliament, and to endeavour to be maſter of the army.

It is well known a parliament was called by Richard Cromwell; and, alſo, that, by the diviſions ariſing in the upper-houſe thereof,

of, which ſpread their influence over the army, he was ſoon obliged to diſſolve it.

The general receiving advice of theſe tranſactions, and of the depoſitions of Richard, readily abandoned him he had ſo lately proclaimed; and his brother in-law being again ſent to him from the rump-parliament, on their reſtoration, he acquieſced in all they had done, as the ſureſt way to preſerve his own command, only by recommending Richard to their favour; and, with his officers, ſigned the engagement againſt Charles Stuart, or any other ſingle perſon, being admitted to the government. But, when their committee, conſiſting of ten perſons, began, on the information of Peirſon and Maſon, two republican colonels in his army, to make conſiderable alterations therein, by caſhiering of thoſe officers in whom he moſt confided; of which his brother-in-law, Clarges, gave him information; he wrote a letter to the houſe, complaining of this treatment in ſo warm a ſtile, at the ſame time engaging for the fidelity of his officers, that they ordered their committee not to proceed further therein till the general himſelf was conſulted.

The Royaliſts were far from being idle in this juncture; there had been a kind of ſecret committee of that party, for managing affairs in behalf of the crown, ever ſince the death of Charles I. among whom was the ſon of Sir John Greenvile, our general's kinſman, who

who had lately given a very good living in Cornwall to Mr. Nicholas Monk, his brother; and Sir John receiving at this time two letters from king Charles II. then at Bruſſels, one directed to himſelf, and the other to the general, together with a private commiſſion to treat with the latter, the ſucceſs of that overture ended, as is well known, in the reſtoration of the king.

On the eighth of May, the general aſſiſted at the proclamation of king Charles II. and, having received advice by Sir Thomas Clarges, that his majeſty intended to land at Dover, on the twenty-eighth, the general ſet out for that place, being the ſame day the king embarked for Holland; and, lying at Rocheſter that night, arrived the next day at Dover, where the king landed on the twenty-fifth.

The interview between the king and the general, was conformable to every one's expectation, full of duty on one ſide, and favour and eſteem on the other; the king permitting the general to ride in his coach two miles out of the town; when his majeſty took horſe, and, with general Monk on his left hand, and his two brothers on his right, proceeded to Canterbury, where he conferred the order of the garter on general Monk, the dukes of York and Glouceſter inveſting him with the honourable badges of that dignity.

From Canterbury the king removed to Rocheſter, where he lay on Monday the twenty-eighth; and the next morning, being his birth-

birth-day, ſet out for Black-Heath to review the army which the general had cauſed to be drawn up there; and from thence proceeded to his capital, into which he made his public entry with much magnificence.

General Monk was now ſworn one of the privy-council, made maſter of the horſe, and one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and had apartments in the Cock-pit, and was in a little time made firſt lord-commiſſioner of the Treaſury; and, in about a month afterwards, was created a peer, being made baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tees, earl of Torrington, and duke of Albermarle, with a grant of ſeven thouſand pounds a year, eſtate of inheritance, beſides other penſions; and received a very peculiar acknowledgment of regard on being thus called to the peerage, almoſt the whole houſe of commons attending him to the very door of the houſe of lords: and we are told, that Sir Edward Nicholas ſaid, That the induſtry and ſervice, which the duke of Albermarle had paid to the crown ſince the king's reſtoration, without reflecting upon his ſervice before, deſerved all the favour and bounty which his majeſty had been pleaſed to confer upon him.

In October, the duke was made one of the commiſſioners for trying the Regicides, and acted accordingly under it, but obſerved great moderation. Soon after, his grace was made lord-lieutenant of the counties of Devonſhire and Middleſex, and of the borough of Southwark;

wark; and the parliament voting the diſbanding of the army, the duke joined very heartily with lord-chancellor Hyde in promoting that ſtep; and took great pains, by changing of officers, to bring it to be ſubmitted to quietly; in which he ſucceeded, all but his own regiment of foot, and a new raiſed regiment of horſe for the king's guard, being paid off and diſmiſſed; as ſome time before had been the commiſſioners from Scotland, by a letter from the duke of Albermarle, ſignifying to them, that it was the king's pleaſure, not to have them intermeddle any more in the government of that kingdom.

In January following, while the king was accompanying his mother and ſiſter on their return to France, the duke was employed at London in quelling an inſurrection made by ſome Fifth-monarchy men, under one Venner, a wine-cooper; who were with ſome difficulty reduced by the duke of Albermarle's regiment, after repulſing ſome detachments of the city militia and the new-raiſed horſe. This gave riſe to a propoſal for keeping up ſtanding-forces; but the duke was averſe thereto, ſaying, That his endeavouring to continue any part of the army would be liable to ſo much miſinterpretation, that he would by no means appear in it.

On the twenty-ſecond of April, 1661, the duke, as maſter of the horſe, attended the king in his proceſſion, leading the horſe of ſtate, from the Tower to White-hall; and the

the next day carried the ſceptre and dove, and was one of the ſupporters of the canopy during the royal unction at the coronation; after which, he and the duke of Buckingham did homage for themſelves and the reſt of their degree.

In the latter part of this year he was attacked with a dangerous illneſs, from which he was recovered by the king's phyſician, Sir Robert Fraſer. After this, every thing being in full peace, he enjoyed himſelf for ſome time in retirement, till, on the breaking out of the firſt Dutch war, under Charles II. in 1664, he was, by his royal highneſs the duke of York, who commanded the fleet, intruſted with the care of the Admiralty, receiving at the ſame time a very obliging letter from his royal highneſs.

The plague broke out in London the ſame year; and the king removing from thence to Oxford, the duke of Albermarle's vigilance and activity made his majeſty regard him as the fitteſt nobleman to entruſt with the care of his capital city in that time of imminent danger and diſtreſs; which additional burthen he chearfully underwent, and was greatly aſſiſted therein by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and the earl of Craven. About Michaelmas, the king ſent for him to Oxford, whither he went poſt, and, on his arrival, found his majeſty had appointed prince Rupert and himſelf joint admirals for the enſuing year; which dangerous poſt, though many of his friends diſſuaded him,

him, he readily accepted, and immediately ſet himſelf diligently about his new employment; wherein all the care of finiſhing thoſe new ſhips which were on the ſtocks, repairing the old ones, which had been much damaged in an action with the Dutch that ſummer, victualling and maning the whole fleet, fell chiefly to his lot; and was ſo effectually and expeditiouſly purſued by him, the ſeamen offering in crowds to the ſervice, becauſe they ſaid they were ſure that honeſt George, as they commonly called him, would ſee them well fed and juſtly paid, that, on the twenty-third of April, 1666, the prince and he took their leaves of the king, and repaired on board the fleet; where the former hoiſted his flag, having Sir George Aſcough under him, as admiral of the white, on board the Royal James; and the latter, as admiral of the red, on board the Royal Charles.

The particulars of his bravery againſt the Dutch in this ſtation are properly the ſubject of general hiſtory, to which therefore we refer. He returned home in the beginning of September, and lay with the fleet at anchor in the bay of St. Helen's, near Spithead.

During that interval, broke out the terrible fire in London; which beginning on the ſecond of September, 1666, burned with unparallelled fury for three days, and laid the greateſt part of the city in aſhes. This unexpected accident immediately occaſioned the duke of Albemarle to be recalled from the fleet,

fleet, to aſſiſt in quieting the minds of the people, who expreſſed their affection and eſteem for him, by crying out publicly, as he paſſed through the ruined ſtreets, That, if his grace had been there, the city had not been burnt.

The earl of Southampton dying on the ſixteenth of May, 1667, his majeſty, after the peace, put the Treaſury in commiſſion, at the head of which was again placed his grace the duke of Albemarle. This was the laſt teſtimony of the royal favour his grace received; for being now in the ſixtieth year of his age, the many hardſhips and fatigues he had undergone in a military life, began to ſhake his conſtitution, hitherto remarkable healthy, he being about this time attacked with a dropſy, the firſt ſymptoms of which were too much neglected.

In this declining condition he withdrew from public buſineſs, as much as his poſt and the ſtate of affairs would permit, and retired to his ſeat at Newhall in the county of Eſſex; where he was prevailed upon, by the importunity of his friends, to try a pill then in vogue, being a preparation of one Dr. Sermon, of Briſtol, who had formerly ſerved under his grace as a common ſoldier; from which he at firſt received ſuch conſiderable relief, that, towards the latter end of the year, he returned to town: but ſoon after falling into a relapſe, with the addition of an aſthmatic complaint, he ſet about finiſhing the laſt great temporal affair,

affair, the marriage of his only ſon with the lady Elizabeth, eldeſt daughter to Henry, earl of Ogle, only ſon to Charles, the then duke of Newcaſtle; which being ſettled, the nuptial ceremony was performed in his own chamber, on the thirtieth of December, 1669; and on the third of January, four days after, he died, ſitting in his chair, without a ſingle groan.

Thus, in the entrance of the ſixty-ſecond year of his life, died this noble and valiant commander, (for, whatever diſputes there have been about his civil capacity, his military ſkill or courage were never called in queſtion) beloved by moſt, admired by many, and envied but by few.

BRITISH MUSEUM
29
FEB
78

Tringham Sculp.

Hyde Earl of Clarendon

THE LIFE OF

EDWARD HYDE.

THE antient and genteel family of the Hydes was originally of Northbury, in Cheſhire; a branch of which ſettling at Guſſage St. Michael, in the county of Dorſet, Mr. Lawrence Hyde, of that place, being the father of ſeveral children, his third ſon was Henry Hyde, of Pyrton, in the county of Wilts, the father (by Mary, his wife, the daughter and heir of Mr. Edward Langford, of Tunbridge, in the ſame county) of our Mr. Edward Hyde, who was born at Dinton, near Hindon, in Wiltſhire, on the ſixteenth of February, or thereabouts, in the year 1608.

He was very carefully educated in grammar learning in his youth; ſoon diſcovered the pregnancy of his parts and elevated genius, and in Lent term, 1622, became a ſtudent of Magdalen hall, in the univerſity of Oxford; where having applied himſelf to indefatigable ſtudy, and highly improved his natural endowments with accademical learning; he removed from thence after he had taken the degree of batchelor of arts to the Middle-Temple; where he ſtudied the law for ſeveral years,

years, and attained to an uncommon perfection in that honourable profeſſion.

Mr. Hyde made ſo conſiderable a figure in his profeſſion, by the year 1633, when the gentlemen of the inns of court, having agreed to entertain the king and royal family with a maſque, the better to effect it, reſolved to chooſe two members out of each houſe whom they thought beſt qualified to carry on that affair, that he and Mr. Whitlock were choſen for the Inner-Temple.

There is nothing memorable concerning this gentleman from hence forward till the meeting of a parliament in April, 1640, after an interval of ſeven years, wherein he had the honour to ſerve the firſt time as a member for Wooten-Baſſet, in his native country. His abilities were ſoon diſcovered by the great and leading men of that houſe; and he ſhewed himſelf, through the courſe of the ſitting of that parliament, a good and even patriot, wholly intent upon the welfare and tranquility of the nation, then in no ſmall ferment upon many occaſions.

But, though this parliament was ſo abruptly diſſolved, to the great grief and diſappointment of Mr. Hyde, and all good men; the king and kingdom, as things ſtood, could not long remain without another; which met the third of November following, and wherein Mr. Hyde ſerved for the town of Saltaſh in Cornwall. His abilities begun now to be very much

much taken notice of, and he was employed in ſeveral committees to examine, and give their opinions to the houſe concerning divers grievances; and when, from the importunity of the Scotch commiſſioners, now in treaty, to get money, ſome of the leading men ſeemed in deſpair of being able to borrow more, for that the city was diſheartened to ſee no delinquents brought yet to juſtice; and therefore, that none could be expected from thence till ſome advance was made to thoſe longed for ends; Mr. Hyde ſtood up, and ſaid, He did not think the thing ſo difficult as was pretended; that no man lent his money who was not a gainer by it; that there was money enough to be had; and he did not doubt but if a ſmall committee from the houſe was ſent to confer in the name of the houſe, with thoſe who were reputed to be monied men, they might prevail for as much as would ſerve the preſent exigence. Whereupon the houſe named him, Mr. Capel, Sir John Strangeways, and five or ſix more, who repaired into the city; and, after they had ſpoken together with four or five eminent men, of wiſdom and ſobriety, as well as ability to lend, they agreed to divide themſelves, and confer ſeparately with their particular acquaintance upon the ſame ſubject.

Many men chuſing rather to lend their money than be thought to have it, and being very cautious in their expreſſions, except in private, they found, when they had again commu-

communicated together, that the buſineſs was very eaſy, every man with whom they had conferred being willing to lend upon their ſecurity who had propoſed it: and Mr. Hyde the next day reported the ſucceſs of their employment, and then enlarged upon the temper they found the city to be in, upon the authority of thoſe who might reaſonably be ſuppoſed to know it beſt. That indeed it was much concerned to ſee two armies maintained at ſo vaſt a charge, within the bowels of the kingdom; and, that they who were able to make good what they promiſed, had readily engaged, if a peremptory day was aſſigned for being rid of thoſe armies, there ſhould be no want of money to diſcharge them.

The major part of the houſe received this report with great applauſe; and Mr. Hyde was no leſs active and ſerviceable to his country, in endeavouring to take away the court of York, of which the earl of Strafford had for ſome years been preſident.

The commons in a committee having taken the ſame into conſideration, Mr. Hyde, the chairman, then reported the caſe; and thereupon it was reſolved, that the commiſſions and inſtructions, whereby the preſident and council in the north exerciſed a juriſdiction, was illegal both in creation and execution, and that it was unprofitable to his majeſty, and inconvenient and grievous to his ſubjects in thoſe parts. Mr. Hyde thereupon being appointed to manage the conference with the lords,

touching

touching the ſame court, he made a moſt learned and eloquent ſpeech upon that occaſion.

But, though Mr. Hyde was as willing to proceed as any body in redreſſing the grievances of the nation, he was, on the other hand, as watchful for the ſecurity of the eſtabliſhed church, now begun to be ſtruck at; and a ſhort bill being brought in to take away the biſhops votes in parliament, and to leave them out in all commiſſions of the peace, or any thing that had relation to temporal affairs; he was very earneſt for the throwing it out, and ſaid, That, from the time that parliaments begun, biſhops had always been a part of it: that, if they were taken out, there was no body left to repreſent the clergy; which would introduce another piece of injuſtice, no other part of the kingdom could complain of; who, being all repreſented in parliament, were bound to ſubmit to whatever was enacted there, becauſe it was upon the matter of their own conſent; whereas, if the bill was carried, there was no body left to repreſent the clergy, and yet they muſt be bound by their own determination.

When he had done, the lord Falkland, who always ſat next to him, (which was ſo much obſerved, that, if they came not in together, as they uſually did, every body left the place for him that was abſent) ſtood up; and declaring he was of another opinion, many of the houſe were wonderfully pleaſed to ſee the

two inſeparable friends divided in ſo important a point, that they could not reſtrain from a kind of rejoicing; and the more, becauſe they ſaw Mr. Hyde much ſurprized, as indeed he was, having never diſcovered the leaſt inclination in the other towards ſuch a compliance; and therefore, they flattered themſelves, that they might, in time, work the lord Falkland to a further compliance with them; but therein they found themſelves much miſtaken.

The earl of Strafford's trial was now depending; and, how warm ſoever Mr. Hyde appeared againſt that noble lord, as he had been preſident of the council in the north, yet being fully convinced in mind that the earl had committed no crimes of ſtate which by law could affect his life, he neglected no opportunities to ſave him.

We need not here recount the earl's unhappy fate; attainted he was, and beheaded: but though thoſe who were ſuppoſed to favour him, either of lords or commons, were branded with the name of Straffordians, and betrayers of their country, and that a liſt of them was poſted up at the corner of the wall of Sir William Brunkard's houſe, in the Old Palace-yard, in Weſtminſter, yet, ſuch was the ſagacity and caution of Mr. Hyde, in his conduct about this unhappy affair, that he was not included amongſt them.

The king being now on his return from Scotland, and the commons having prepared a remonſtrance of the illegal practices ſince the beginning of his reign, it admitted of many

many warm and ſharp debates before it could be carried in the affirmative; but then Mr. Hambden moving for an order for the preſent printing of it, Mr. Hyde, as ſoon as the motion was made, ſaid, ſomewhat warmly, He believed it was not lawful to print it before it was ſent up to the houſe of peers for their concurrence, and feared it might be miſchievous in the effect; and therefore deſired, if the queſtion, when it was put, ſhould be carried in the affirmative, he might have leave to enter his proteſtation.

This was reſented very much; and two days after, after long and warm debates, they ordered, that he ſhould be ſent to the Tower; the warm men among them urging earneſtly that he ſhould be expelled the houſe: but, at laſt, they were content with his commitment to the Tower; from whence he was in a few days releaſed, and ſat in the houſe. The parties and animoſities ran ſo high, that this is all the favour Mr. Hyde received, little conſideration being had to his ſervices performed but very little before this againſt thoſe barons of the Exchequer who had given their opinions in favour of ſhip-money, and other but too arbitrary proceedings of theſe times.

Things in a ſhort while after coming to extremities between the king and parliament, Mr. Hyde continued in the houſe as long as he had any proſpect of doing the king ſervice; and then retiring to his majeſty at York, he was pleaſed to confer upon him the honour of

knighthood,, and make him chancellor of the Exchequer.

He attended his majeſty to Nottingham, where he ſet up his ſtandard, in Auguſt, 1642; but being a man of the gown, and not of the ſword, we hear little of him in the courſe of the civil-war, till the treaty at Uxbridge in 1644, at which he was one of the commiſſioners for the king; where he ſhewed himſelf a a ſtrenuous aſſertor of the king's right to the militia; and vindicated the king's council from any miſmanagement in reference to the affairs of Ireland, with which the parliament charged them.

The treaty being broken off, and the cruel war going on, Sir Edward Hyde's province, for ſome time, was to attend the prince of Wales in the weſt; from whence he afterwards went to Jerſey, where he ſpent a year and an half, chiefly in compiling The Hiſtory of the Civil-War; and from whence, in 1648, he paſſed over into France, to attend the prince there, who, not long after, had the title, though not the power, of king, upon the barbarous murder of his father; and Sir Edward ſettling ſome time after with his family at Antwerp, the king thought fit to ſend him and the lord Cottington upon a joint-ambaſſy into Spain, to renew the alliance between the two crowns.

Their reception and encouragement at firſt were pretty tollerable, but the tranquillity they enjoyed was ſoon over, by the arrival of a ſquadron

ſquadron of the parliament's fleet on the coaſt of Spain, which frightened the Spaniſh court from all the ſeeming affection they had for the royal cauſe. This, together with the murder of Aſcham, the parliament's agent, by ſome Engliſh and Iriſh ruffians, together with the news of the defeat of the king's army in Scotland, by Cromwell, made the Spaniards heartily deſirous they ſhould be gone.

Sir Edward Hyde, in his paſſage through France to Antwerp, waited upon, and was very graciouſly received by, the queen-mother; and in vain endeavoured to do the Engliſh Proteſtants at Paris ſome ſervice with reſpect to the exerciſe of their religion. Sir Edward haſting from hence to his family at Antwerp, and the king, in the mean time, after his defeat at Worceſter, in 1650, having made his eſcape into France, he, purſuant to his commands, went and attended him at Paris; where, by his averſeneſs, firſt, to the duke of York's marrying Mademoiſelle de Longueville, and then to the propoſal of a match between the king and Mademoiſelle de Mompeſier, he ſo highly incurred the diſpleaſure of the queen-mother, that, at length, ſhe would not vouchſafe to ſpeak to him: and this diſinclination towards him produced, at one and the ſame time, a contrivance of an odd nature, and an union between two ſeemingly irreconcileable parties, the Papiſts and Preſbyterians.

They framed their petitions againſt him; but the whole contrivance having been diſcovered to the king before Sir Edward knew any thing of it, and alſo a copy of the petitions put into his hands, he ſhewed them to him and the marquis of Ormond, and afterwards made himſelf very merry with it; ſpoke of it ſometimes at dinner, when the qneen-mother, who had been in the ſecret, was preſent; and aſked pleaſantly, when the petitions would be brought againſt the chancellor of the Exchequer.

In the mean time, the queen-mother took all occaſion to complain to the queen-regent of the king's unkindneſs; that ſhe might impute all that ſhe diſliked to the chancellor: and the queen-regent of France having intercepted a letter of his to the cardinal de Retz, which he had not thought fit to communicate firſt to her, ſhe preſently did it to his mother; and a little after, there being a maſque at court that the king liked very well, he perſuaded the chancellor to ſee it; and vouchſafed, the next night, to carry him thither himſelf, and to place the marquis of Ormond and him next the ſeat where all their majeſties were to ſit: and, when they entered, the queen-regent aſked, who that fat man was that ſat by the marquis of Ormond. The king told her aloud, That was the naughty man who did all the miſchief, and ſet him againſt his mother; at which the queen herſelf was little leſs diſordered

dered than the chancellor; but they within hearing laughed ſo much, that the queen was not diſpleaſed; and ſomewhat was ſpoken to his advantage.

Though the chancellor of the Exchequer was not, perhaps, in compliance with the queen, againſt making Sir Edward Herbert, keeper, which happened in 1652, yet his troubles did not ceaſe; for Mr. Robert Long, who, when the king was in Scotland, had been ſecretary, an office now performed by Sir Edward Hyde, petitioning to be reſtored to the place, and being refuſed, he thereupon accuſed Sir Edward of having betrayed the king; and undertook to prove that he had been over in England, and had private conference with Cromwell: which was an aſperſion ſo impoſſible that every body laughed at it: yet, becauſe he undertook to prove it, the chancellor preſſed that a day might be appointed for him to produce his proof; and at that day the queen came again to the council, that ſhe might be preſent at the charge.

There Mr. Long produced one Maſſonet, a man who had ſerved him, and afterwards had been an under clerk for writing letters, and had been taken priſoner at Worceſter, and being releaſed with the reſt of the king's ſervants, had been employed, from the time of the king's return, in the ſame ſervice, under the chancellor of the Exchequer; who ſaid, That, after his releaſe from his impriſonment, and whilſt he ſtayed in London, he

ſpoke with a maid, who had formerly ſerved him, that knew the chancellor very well, and who aſſured him, that one evening ſhe had ſeen the chancellor go into Cromwell's chamber at White-hall; and after he had been ſhut up with him ſome hours, ſhe ſaw him conducted out again. And Mr. Long deſired time that he might ſend over for this woman, who ſhould appear and juſtify it.

To this impoſſible diſcourſe, the chancellor ſaid, He would make no other defence, than, that there were perſons then in town, who, he was confident, would avow that they had ſeen him every day, from the time he returned from Spain, to the day on which he attended his majeſty at Paris: and when he had ſaid ſo, he offered to go out of the room; which the king would not have him do: but he told his majeſty, that it was the courſe, and that he ought not to be preſent at the debate that was to concern himſelf; and the lord-keeper, who was his enemy, with ſome warmth, ſaid, it was true: and ſo he retired to his own chamber.

The lord Jermyn, as ſoon as he was gone, ſaid, He never thought the accuſation had any thing of probability in it; and, that he believed the chancellor a very honeſt man; but that the uſe that he thought ought to be made of this calumny, was, that it appeared that an honeſt and innocent man might be calumniated, as he thought Mr. Long had likewiſe been; and therefore they ought both to be

be cleared. The keeper ſaid, He ſaw not ground enough to condemn the chancellor; but he ſaw no cauſe neither to declare him innocent: that there was one witneſs which declared only what he had heard; but that he undertook alſo to produce the witneſs herſelf if he might have time; which, in juſtice, could not be denied: and therefore he propoſed that a competent time might be given to Mr. Long to make out his proof; and, that, in the mean time, the chancellor might not repair to the council.

With much warmth the king ſaid, He diſcerned well the deſign; and, that it was ſo falſe and wicked a charge, that, if he had no other exception againſt Mr. Long than this foul and fooliſh accuſation, it was cauſe enough never to truſt him: and therefore he preſently ſent for the chancellor, and, as ſoon as he came in, commanded him to ſit in his place; and told him, He was ſorry he was not in a condition to do him more juſtice than to declare him innocent.

The lord-keeper having as ill ſucceſs in another accuſation formed againſt Sir Edward, as if he had ſpoke diſreſpectful words of the king, and the king himſelf at laſt having declared he was very well ſatisfied in the chancellor's affection, and took nothing ill that he had ſaid, and directed the clerk of the council to enter ſuch his majeſty's declaration in his book; from that time, there were no

farther public attempts againſt the chancellor during the time of his majeſty's abode in France.

The king, ſome time after this, being grown perfectly weary of France, before he retired from thence into Germany, he deſired that the chancellor of the Exchequer might part in the queen's good grace; and, being introduced into her preſence by the lord Piercy, he told her majeſty, That now ſhe had vouchſafed to admit him into her preſence, he hoped ſhe would let him know the ground of the diſpleaſure ſhe had conceived againſt him; that ſo having vindicated himſelf from any fault towards her majeſty, he might leave her with a confidence in his duty, and receive her commands with an aſſurance that they ſhould be punctually obeyed by him.

The queen, with a loud voice, and more emotion than ſhe was accuſtomed to, told him, That ſhe had been contented to ſee him, and to give him leave to kiſs her hand, to comply with the king's deſires, who had importuned her to it; otherwiſe that he lived in that manner towards her, that he had no reaſon to expect to be welcome to her: that ſhe need not aſſign any particular miſcarriage of his, ſince his diſreſpect towards her was notorious to all men; and, that all men took notice that he never came where ſhe was, though he lodged under her roof, (for the houſe was her's); and that ſhe thought ſhe had not ſeen him in ſix months

months before: which ſhe looked upon as ſo high an affront, that only her reſpect towards the king prevailed with her to endure it.

When her majeſty made a pauſe, the chancellor, with admirable preſence of mind, and happy turn of thought, ſo peculiar to himſelf, anſwered, That her majeſty had only mentioned his puniſhment, and nothing of his fault; that, how great ſoever his infirmities were, in defect of underſtanding, or in good manners, he had yet never been in Bedlam; which he had deſerved to be, if he had affected to publiſh to the world that he was in the queen's diſfavour, by avoiding to be ſeen by her; that he had no kind of apprehenſion that they who thought worſt of him, would ever believe him to be ſuch a fool, as to provoke the wife of his dead maſter, the greatneſs of whoſe affections to her was well known to him; and the mother of the king, who ſubſiſted by her favour; and all this in France, where himſelf was a baniſhed perſon, and ſhe at home, where ſhe might oblige or diſoblige him at her pleaſure. So that he was well aſſured that no body would think him guilty of ſo much folly and madneſs as not to uſe all the endeavours he poſſibly could to obtain her grace and protection: that it was very true he had been long without the preſumption of being in her majeſty's preſence, after he had undergone many ſharp inſtances of her diſpleaſure, and after he had obſerved ſome al-

teration and averſion in her majeſty's look and countenance upon his coming into the room where ſhe was, and during the time ſhe ſtayed there; which others likewiſe obſerved ſo much, that they withdrew from holding any converſation with him in thoſe places, out of fear to offend her majeſty: that he had often deſired, by ſeveral perſons, to know the cauſe of her majeſty's diſpleaſure; and, that he might be admitted to clear himſelf from any unworthy ſuggeſtions which had been made of him to her majeſty, but could never obtain that honour; and therefore he had conceived, that he was obliged in good manners, to remove ſo unacceptable an object from the eyes of her majeſty, by not coming into her preſence; which all who knew him could not but know to be the greateſt mortification that could be inflicted upon him; and therefore he moſt humbly beſought her majeſty, at this audience, which might be the laſt he ſhould receive of her, that ſhe would diſmiſs him with the knowledge of what had been taken amiſs, that he might be able to make his innocence and integrity appear; which he knew had been blaſted by the malice of ſome perſons, and thereby miſinterpreted by her majeſty.

But all this prevailed not with her majeſty; who objected his credit with the king, and his endeavours to leſſen that credit which ſhe ought to have; and concluded, that ſhe ſhould be glad to ſee reaſon to change her opinion;

opinion; and ſo carelesly extended her hand towards him, which he kiſſing, ſhe departed to her chamber.

Having continued ſome years longer in exile, his majeſty was pleaſed to make him lord-chancellor of England in the Chriſtmas holidays preceding Oliver's death; Sir Edward Herbert, who was the laſt lord-keeper of the great-ſeal, being lately dead at Paris. He received the ſeal very unwillingly; but the king firſt employed the marquis of Ormond, with whom his majeſty knew he had an entire friendſhip, to diſpoſe him to receive it; which when he could not do, he giving him many reaſons why there was no need of ſuch an officer, or indeed any uſe of the great-ſeal till the king ſhould come into England; and, that his majeſty found ſome eaſe in being without ſuch an officer, that he was not troubled with thoſe ſuits which he would be, if the ſeal were in the hands of a proper officer to be uſed, ſince every body would be then importuning the king for the grant of offices, honours and land, which would give him great vexation to refuſe, and do him great miſchief by granting.

The marquis told the king of it; who went himſelf to the chancellor's lodgings, and took notice of what the marquis had told him; and ſaid, He would deal truly and freely with him; that the principal reaſon which he had alledged againſt receiving the ſeal, was the greateſt reaſon that diſpoſed him to confer it upon

upon him; and then he pulled letters out of his pocket, which he received lately from Paris, for the grant of ſeveral reverſions in England of offices, and of lands. He mentioned to him alſo many other importunities with which he was every day diſquieted; and, that he ſaw no other remedy to give himſelf eaſe, than to put the ſeal out of his own keeping, into ſuch hands as would not be importuned, and would help him to deny: and thereupon he conjured Sir Edward to receive that truſt, with many promiſes of his favour and protection: whereupon the earl of Briſtol, and ſecretary Nicholas, uſing likewiſe their perſuaſions, he ſubmitted to the king's pleaſure.

The chief adminiſtration of affairs was now, in a very great degree, in the hands of the lord-chancellor; of whoſe capacity, as well as integrity, his majeſty had had ſo long and convincing experience, that he was the more ready to leave all to him: Oliver's death, and the various revolutions that happened upon it in England, revived the hopes and activity of the chancellor to promote the reſtoration of his royal maſter to his loſt dominions; and moſt, if not all, the papers, declarations, and the like, which were put out to this end, were of his drawing. It would be needleſs to hint the particulars; his prudence ſuggeſted ſeaſonable thoughts of moderation and mildneſs to him in the ſeveral particulars contained in them.

At

At length the happy and longed-for day came, when his majeſty was reſtored; and, on the twenty-ninth of May, 1666, made his public entry through the city of London, which put an end, for the preſent, to the lord-chancellor's exile, and afforded him kind and promiſing views of a large and proſperous fortune.

The lord-chancellor, who was a very forward inſtrument with the king at Breda, to make the largeſt conceſſions of favour and indemnity, that well could be, to his ſubjects, upon the proſpect he had of his reſtoration, thought it now his honour, as well as his duty, to endeavour the punctual performance of every particular: and therefore finding there were ſome perſons, who moſt maliciouſly endeavoured to inſinuate that his majeſty intended nothing leſs than the performance of his promiſes, the chancellor adviſed him to ſend a meſſage to the commons to quicken their debates about the act of a general pardon and indemnity, as that which would beſt quiet the minds of the people.

That neceſſary bill, and many others, being at length diſpatched, the chancellor concluded that ſeſſions with a very noble ſpeech; wherein, among many other moſt excellent things, he ſaid a very remarkable thing concerning the army then in being, which, perhaps, could never be ſaid before or after of any other in the world, in theſe words:

"If

"If God had not reſtored his majeſty to that rare felicity, as to be without apprehenſion of danger at home or abroad, and without any ambition of taking from his neighbours what they are poſſeſſed of, himſelf would never diſband his army: an army whoſe order and diſcipline, whoſe courage and ſucceſs, hath made it famous and terrible over the world: an army of which the king and his two royal brothers may ſay, as the noble Grecian ſaid of Æneas,

———Stetimus tela aſpera contra,
Contulimuſque manus, experto credite quantus
In clypeum aſſurgat, quo turbine torqueat haſtam.

"They have all three, in ſeveral countries, found themſelves engaged in the midſt of theſe troops, in the heat and rage of battle; and if any common ſoldier, as no doubt many may, will demand the old Roman priviledge for having encountered princes ſingle, upon my conſcience he will find both favour and preferment. They have all three obſerved the diſcipline, and felt, and admired, and loved the courage of this army, when they were the worſe for it; and I have ſeen them, in a ſeaſon when there was little of comfort in their view, refreſh themſelves with joy that the Engliſh had done the great work, the Engliſh had got the day; and then pleaſe themſelves

ſelves with the imagination of what wonders they ſhould perform at the head of ſuch an army."

Nothing ſeemed now to blow on all ſides, but gales of proſperity to the king and the whole nation; and none ſo much courted and careſſed as the lord-chancellor, of all the miniſters, whereof he indeed was the chief and moſt capable; and William, duke of Somerſet, giving way to fate in the month of October, this year, the univerſity of Oxford were pleaſed to make choice of Sir Edward Hyde to be their chancellor in his room. About the ſame time, he was one of thoſe lords put in a commiſſion of oyer and terminer to try the regicides; and his majeſty, on the third of November, was pleaſed, in gratitude for the long and faithful ſervices of my lord-chancellor, and as an inſtance of his royal favour, to raiſe him to the decree of a baron of England, by the title of the lord Hyde, of Hindon, in the county of Wilts; and, on the twentieth of April, 1661, he created him viſcount Cornbury, in the county of Oxford, and earl of Clarendon, in Wiltſhire, with ceremony in the Banqueting-houſe at Whitehall, three days before his majeſty's coronation, being the firſt of the ſix earls who were made againſt that ſolemnity.

Between the diſſolution of this convention-parliament and the meeting of the next, which was to be on the eighth of May, 1661, there was a matter agitated at the helm, that afterwards

wards through the malice of enemies and the credulity of the unthinking populace, was trumped up to the diſadvantage of the chancellor.

It is true his daughter was married to the duke of York, then preſumptive heir to the crown; and proving to be a prolific lady, it was natural for him to wiſh that ſome one of the deſcendants of his own body might, in time, inherit the crown of England; but, that he ſhould be the contriver, and the only one too, of the match with Portugal, in order to it, is as great a piece of forgery and falſhood as ever could be put upon a man; and of which the king, who could not foreſee this, ſufficiently cleared him in his next ſpeech in parliament in theſe very words:

"And I tell you, with great ſatisfaction and comfort to myſelf, that, after many hours debate in full council, for I think there was not above one abſent; and truly I believe upon weighing all that can be ſaid upon that ſubject, for or againſt it, the lords, without one diſſenting voice, yet there were very few ſat ſilent, adviſed me, with all imaginable cheerfulneſs, to this marriage, which I look upon as very wonderful, and even as ſome inſtances of the approbation of God himſelf."

It was a great weakning to my lord-chancellor Clarendon's intereſt and ſtability at court, that Mr. Secretary Nicholas ſhould, on the ſecond of October, 1662, be put out of his

his office of ſecretary of ſtate; and, that Sir Henry Bennet, afterwards created earl of Arlington, no real friend of the chancellor, and one that died, at length, a Papiſt, ſhould be ſworn into his place. This the chancellor, who was a nobleman, not only of great experience in ſtate affairs, but of an uncommon diſcerning genius, could not but foreſee was deſigned for no good to him, and therefore he armed himſelf with all his dexterity againſt it, as againſt an enemy that would give him no quarter; and indeed he made ſuch a proviſion for a ſecure footing where he ſtood, that there could be no juſt apprehenſions of loſing any ground; but the real and heavy ſtorm proceeds many times from the moſt unexpected quarter.

There had been a long courſe of uninterrupted friendſhip both at home and abroad, in a proſperous and adverſe fortune, between George earl of Briſtol, and the earl of Clarendon; ſo that the ſame ſeemed to be, like the Gordian knot, indiſſoluble: but the chancellor refuſing a ſmall boon, as the earl of Briſtol took it to be, which, it was ſaid, was the paſſing a patent in favour of a court-lady, and wherein the chancellor, who was beſt judge of his own office, was certainly in the right.

This ſo ſowered the other's ſpirits, as, never dreaming he ſhould be denied, that his thoughts ſuggeſted nothing to him from thenceforwards but malice and the higheſt revenge; and,

and, having digeſted all things within himſelf, which he imagined might tend to the diſadvantage and ruin of the chancellor, he firſt made a bitter and artful ſpeech enough againſt him in the houſe of lords; and then, on the tenth of July, 1663, exhibited articles of high-treaſon and other heinous miſdemeanours againſt Edward earl of Clarendon, lord high-chancellor of England.

This bold attack upon the lord-chancellor, though he came off without any blemiſh, rendered him more cautious and circumſpect in his conduct; ſo that things, in all outward appearance, went ſmoothly on with him, bating that the gout racked him now and then, till the war with the Dutch broke out; which the libellers of that age made to be one of his heinous crimes, though he abhorred it.

In the mean while, the lord Morley having killed one Mr. Haſtings, for which he was to be arraigned at Weſtminſter by his peers, the lord-chancellor was appointed high-ſteward for the day, and carried every thing with the utmoſt decorum, circumſpection, and juſtice. My lord Morley was found guilty of manſlaughter, but had the benefit of his clergy.

Now comes on this great earl's own miſfortunes; for the great-ſeal being taken from him on the thirtieth of Auguſt, 1667, it is incredible with what rage and fury every body fell upon him: nay, when the parliament met on the tenth of October following, both houſes thanked the king in a more eſpecial manner,

manner, for having diſplaced the earl, and removed him from the exerciſe of any public truſt and employment: and the commons proceeding to draw up articles againſt him, Mr. Seymour, in the name of the commons of England, impeached him, at the bar of the houſe of lords, of treaſon and other high crimes and miſdemeanours.

About this time, his lordſhip, thinking it adviſeable for him to withdraw out of the kingdom for his greater ſecurity, he ſent a petition to the Houſe of Lords in a very noble ſtile; and, though writ with an air of great candour and ſincerity, had no influence at all in his favour. There were ſeveral conferences held between the lords and commons about the manner of proceeding againſt the earl, which ended at laſt in a bill for baniſhing and diſabling him.

It ſhould have been obſerved before, that my lord Clarendon's addreſs, or paper, to the houſe of lords, which was printed, in thoſe days, under the opprobrious title of, "News from Dunkirk-houſe; or, Clarendon's Farewell to England; in his Seditious Addreſs to the Right Honourable the Houſe of Peers, on the third of December;" was, on the twelfth of the ſame month, according to the ſentence and judgment of both houſes of parliament, burned by the hands of the common hangman, in the preſence of the two ſheriffs of London and Middleſex, with very great and ſignal applauſe of the populace.

Every

Every body now flung dirt at him, and, like gudgeons, greedily ſwallowed all that tended to his diſreputation and diſgrace, without ever enquiring into the reaſons of them. Satyrical Andrew Marvel, in his Advice to the Painter, could not, among the reſt, forbear to have a fling at him in theſe opprobrious lines:

But damn'd, and doubly damn'd, be Clarendine,
Our Seventh Edward, with all his houſe and line;
Who, to divert the dangers of the war,
With Briſtol, hounds us on the Hollander.
Fool-coated gownman! Sells, to fight with Hans,
Dunkirk, — diſmantling Scotland, — quarrels France;
And hopes he now hath buſineſs, ſhape, and power,
T' out-laſt our lives, or his, and 'ſcape the Tower;
And, that he yet may ſee, ere he go down,
His dear Clarinda circled in a crown.

But the true cauſe of the noble earl's diſgrace proceeded from none of theſe ſuggeſtions. I find, by an anonymous pamphlet, which ſeverely reflects upon the court proceedings in thoſe times, an inſinuation, as if the chancellor had loſt his place for deſerting the French and popiſh intereſt; and, that his zeal for the proteſtant religion was ſuch, that, ſome

ſome time before he was turned out, he refuſed to ſeal a new commiſſion for the duke of York, to evade a late act made againſt popery.

There might be ſome truth, in all likelihood, in this; it is well known his lordſhip was a zealous Proteſtant, and that our court might be ſomewhat popiſhly affected, even at that time: but

——— Extempore verum
Naſcitur, & veniens ætas abſcondita pandit.

Dr. Welwood, in his Memoirs, after having premiſed, that it looked as if Heaven took a more than ordinary care of England, that we did not throw up all our liberties at once upon the reſtoration of king Charles II. for, tho' ſome were for bringing him back upon terms, yet after he was once come he poſſeſſed ſo entirely the hearts of his people, that they thought nothing was too much for them to grant, or for him to receive; he tells us, among other deſigns, that, to pleaſe him, there was one formed at court to ſettle ſuch a revenue upon him, by parliament, during life, as ſhould place him beyond the neceſſity of aſking more, except in the caſe of a war, or ſome ſuch extraordinary occaſion: that the earl of Southampton, lord high-treaſurer, came heartily into it, out of a meer principle of honour and affection to the king; but that chancellor Clarendon ſecretly oppoſed it:

that

that it happened, that they two had a private conference about the matter; and the chancellor being earneſt to bring the treaſurer to his opinion, took the freedom to tell him, That he was better acquainted with the king's temper and inclinations than Southampton could reaſonably expect to be, having had long and intimate acquaintance with his majeſty abroad; and that he knew him ſo well, that, if ſuch a revenue was once ſettled upon him for life, neither of them two would be of any farther uſe; and, that they were not, in probability, to ſee many more ſeſſions of parliament during that reign: that Southampton was brought over; but that this paſſage could not be kept ſo ſecret, but it came to king Charles's ears; which, together with other things, wherein Clarendon was miſrepreſented to him, proved the true reaſon why he abandoned him to his enemies.

The earl was ſucceeded in his office by Sir Orlando Bridgeman, with the title of lord-keeper, in his chancellorſhip of Oxford, by archbiſhop Sheldon; and being informed, two or three years after his exile, that his daughter, the dutcheſs of York, was turning, if not turned papiſt; he wrote a very artful letter to the duke about it, as if he had been ſtill himſelf a proteſtant, though he knew him to be a concealed papiſt; and another more at large to his daughter; wherein, though he ſhewed a very laudable diſtance and reſpect, upon account of the difference of their conditions, yet

he

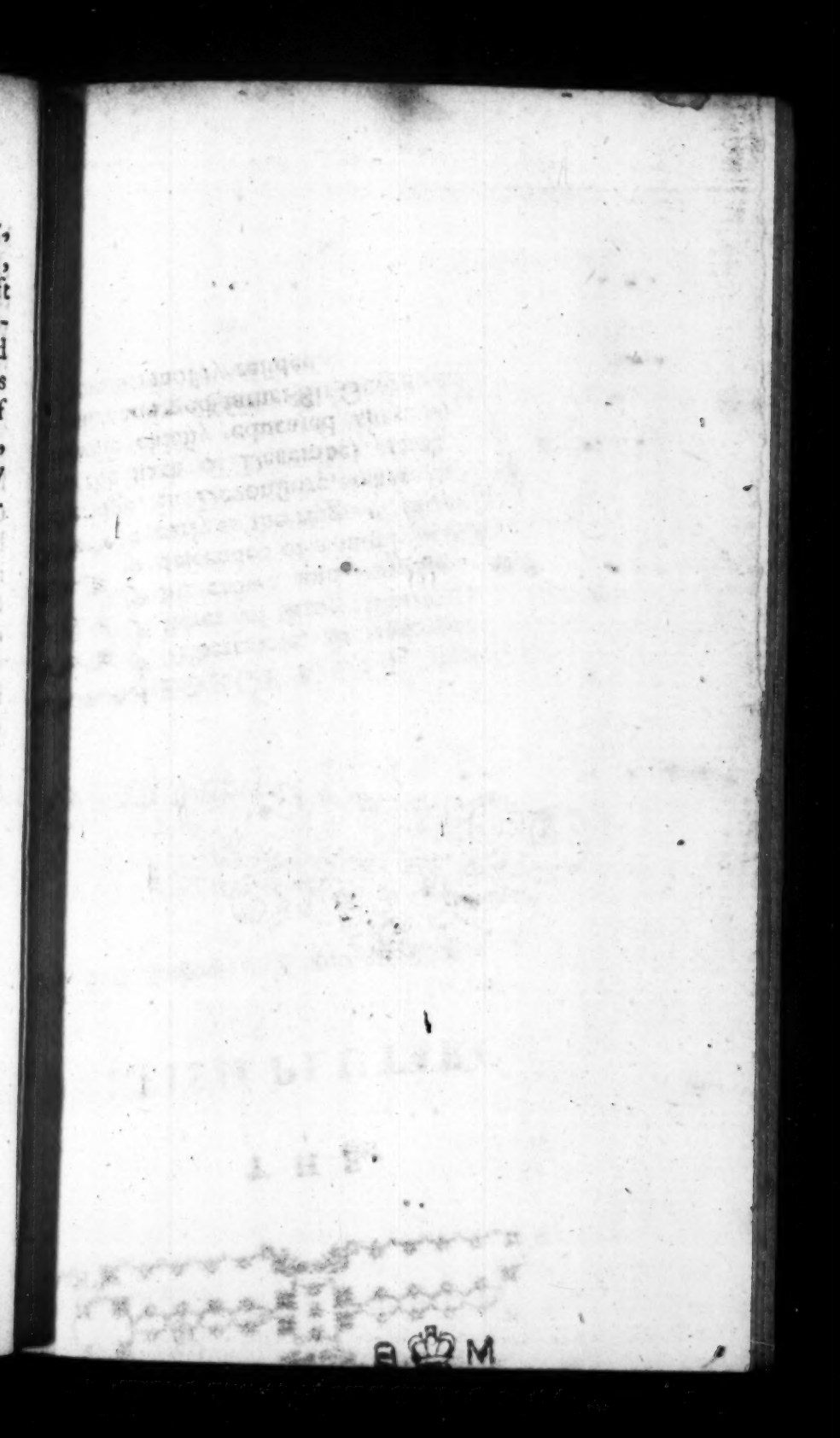
he uſed the freedom and authority, as well as the tenderneſs, of a parent; and manifeſted the great knowledge he had in polemical divinity, and the artifices of the church of Rome to gain proſelytes.

The noble earl, in the courſe of his exile, ſojourned in ſeveral parts of France, till the year 1674, when, on the ſeventh of December, he paid his laſt debt to Nature, near the city of Roan, in Normandy; from whence his body was conveyed into England, and buri d on the north ſide of Capella Regum, in St. Peter's, commonly called the abbey church of Weſtminſter.

This great and learned chancellor, beſides ſeveral letters, ſpeeches, &c. of his that are extant, wrote, 1, A Full Anſwer to an Infamous and Trayterous Libel; entitled, A Declaration of the Commons of England, in Parliament aſſembled, expreſſing their Reaſons and Grounds of paſſing their late Reſolutions, touching no farther Addreſs or Application to be made to the King, Lond. 1648, 4°. 2, The Eſtates and Conditions of George Duke of Buckingham, and Robert, Earl of Eſſex. See Reliquæ Wottonianæ, &c. Lond. 1672, 8vo. 3, Animadverſions on a Book entitled, Fanaticiſm, fanatically imputed to the Catholic Church, by Dr. Stillingfleet; and the Imputation Refuted and Retorted, by Ser. Creſſi. Lond. 1674, 8vo. 4, A Brief View and Survey of the Dangerous and Pernicious Errors to Church and State, in Mr. Hobbs's

Book, The Leviathan. Oxon. 1676, 4°. 5, The Hiſtory of the Rebellion, begun in 1641, &c. 3 vols. folio, and ſince in 8v°. He left in manuſcript, A Hiſtory, or Hiſtorical Account, of Ireland; made uſe of by Edmond Borlace, without acknowledgment, in his book, or books, publiſhed of the affairs of that kingdom: and, within theſe few years, three volumes more of his lordſhip's Hiſtory have been publiſhed by the univerſity of Oxford.

THE



Anth.ʸ Ashley Cooper E: of Shaftsbury

THE LIFE OF

Anthony A. Cooper.

ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, earl of Shaftſbury, a moſt able perſon and great politician, was ſon of Sir John Cooper, of Rockborn, in the county of Southampton, bart. by Anne, daughter and ſole heireſs of Sir Anthony Aſhley, of Winborne St. Giles, in the county of Dorſet, bart. where he was born, upon the twenty-ſecond of July, 1621.

Being a boy of uncommon parts, he was ſent to Oxford at the age of fifteen, and became a fellow commoner of Exeter college, under the tuition of the famous Dr. John Prideaux, who was then rector of it. He is ſaid to have ſtudied hard there for about two years, and then removed to Lincoln's-inn, where he applied himſelf, with great vigour, to the ſtudy of the law, and eſpecially that part of it which gave him a perfect inſight into the conſtitution of this kingdom.

In the nineteenth year of his age, he was elected for Tewkſbury, in Glouceſterſhire, in that parliament which met at Weſtminſter on the thirteenth of April, 1640, but was ſoon diſſolved.

He ſeems to have been well affected to the king's ſervice at the beginning of the civil-war, for he repaired to the king at Oxford, offered his aſſiſtance, and projected a ſcheme, not for ſubduing or conquering his country, but for reducing ſuch as had either deſerted or miſtaken their duty, to his majeſty's obedience.

Being at Oxford in the beginning of the civil-war, for he was on that ſide ſo long as he had any hopes to ſerve his country there, he was brought to king Charles I. by the lord Falkland, his friend, then ſecretary of ſtate, and preſented to him, as having ſomething to offer to his majeſty worthy conſideration. At this audience he told the king, that he could put an end to the war, if his majeſty pleaſed and would aſſiſt him in it. The king anſwered, That he was a very young man for ſo great an undertaking. "Sire," replied he, "that will not be the worſe for your affairs, provided I do the buſineſs." Whereupon the king ſhewing a willingneſs to hear him, he diſcourſed to him to this purpoſe:

"The gentlemen, and men of eſtates, who firſt engaged in this war, ſeeing now, after a year or two, that it ſeems to be no nearer an end than it was at firſt, and beginning to be weary of it, I am very well ſatisfied, would be glad to be in quiet an home again, if they could be aſſured of redreſs of their grievances, and have their rights and liberties ſecured to them.

them. This, I am ſatisfied, is the preſent temper generally throughout England, and particularly in thoſe parts where my eſtate and concerns lie. If therefore your majeſty will impower me to treat with the parliament garriſons, to grant them a full and general pardon, with an aſſurance that a general amneſty, arms being laid down on both ſides, ſhould reinſtate all things in the ſame poſture they were before the war, and then a free parliament ſhould do what more remained to be done for the ſettlement of the nation."

He added farther, That he would begin and try the experiment in his own country, and doubted not but the good ſucceſs he ſhould have there, would open him the gates of other adjoining garriſons, by bringing them the news of peace and ſecurity in laying down their arms.

Being furniſhed with full power, according to his deſire, away he goes to Dorſetſhire, where he managed a treaty with the garriſons of Pool, Weymouth, Dorcheſter, and others; and was ſo ſucceſsful in it, that one of them was actually put into his hands, as the others were to have been in a few days: but prince Maurice, who commanded ſome of the king's forces, being with his army then in thoſe parts, no ſooner heard that the town was ſurrendered, but he preſently marched into it, and gave the pillage of it to the ſoldiers.

This Sir Anthony ſaw with the utmoſt diſpleaſure, and could not forbear his reſentments

to the prince, ſo that there paſſed ſome pretty hot words between them; but the violence was committed, and thereby his deſign broken. All that he could do, was, that he ſent to the other garriſons he was in treaty with, to ſtand upon their guard, for that he could not ſecure his articles to them: and ſo this deſign proved abortive, and died in ſilence.

Sir Anthony was afterwards invited to Oxford by a letter from his majeſty; but perceiving that he was not confided in, that his behaviour was diſliked, and his perſon in danger, he retired into the parliament quarters, and ſoon after went up to London, where he was well received by that party, to which he gave himſelf up body and ſoul. He accepted a commiſſion from the parliament, and raiſing forces, took Wareham by ſtorm, in October, 1644; and ſoon after reduced all the adjacent parts of Dorſetſhire.

Towards the end of the year 1645, he was choſen ſheriff of Norfolk, and approved by the parliament. The next year he was ſheriff of Wiltſhire. In 1651, he was of the committee of twenty, appointed to conſider of ways and means for reforming the law. He was alſo one of the members of that convention that met after general Cromwell had turned out the long parliament.

He was again member of parliament in 1654, and one of the principal perſons who ſigned that famous proteſtation, charging the protector with tyranny and arbitrary government;

ment; and he always oppoſed the illegal meaſure of that arbitrary uſurper to the utmoſt.

When the protector Richard was depoſed, and the Rump came again into power, they nominated Sir Anthony one of their council of ſtate, and a commiſſioner for managing the army. He was at that very time engaged in a ſecret correſpondence with the friends of king Charles II. and was greatly inſtrumental in promoting his reſtoration; which brought him into peril of his life with the powers then in being.

The wiſeſt of kings tells us, That, in the multitude of councellors there is ſtrength: and how much it is the intereſt of princes to advance men of the higheſt qualifications into ſuch truſt, the experience of all ages teſtifieth. The affairs of the public receive their exaltation, or their detriment, from their advices; and, according to the qualifications and inclinations of thoſe great miniſters, may be calculated the fate of kingdoms. This hath obliged monarchs to take to their councils men of the largeſt proſpect, the greateſt eloquence, and ſteadieſt principle to the intereſt of the government; perſons knowing in the laws and conſtitutions of the kingdom whereof they are members, that eſpouſe the intereſt of their country with an inviolable reſolution of adhereing to it, with the hazard of their deareſt lives and liberties; ſuch as prefer the concern of the public above their own private

ſatisfactions and enjoyments; that dare deny themſelves for the good of their prince: and of this ſort, without encroachment on the juſt acquirements of any other miniſter, with what admirable policy did he influence and manage the councils he was concerned in during the inter-regnum, towards his majeſty's intereſt! With what exquiſite ſubtilty did he turn all the channels of their councils to ſwell this ſtream! And how unweariedly did he tug at the helm of ſtate, till he had brought his great maſter ſafe into the deſired port!

A ſenſe of theſe great abilities, and firmneſs to the public good, ſtill kept him up in the eſteem of his country, who would always chuſe him one of their repreſentatives in the great exigencies of ſtate. They knew him to be one of thoſe that could not believe prerogative to be incompatible with property, but as he believed that motto Rex legis tutamen, ſo he would not have that other, Grex regis tutamen, to be rejected.

By this may be eaſily diſcerned the opinion he had of the illegal and arbitrary proceedings of Oliver Cromwell, and how much of the ſufferings of the royal party would have been prevented, had that point of a free parliament been then gained. His majeſty's reſtoration muſt have been the natural conſequence of it. The conſtant correſpondence he always kept with the royal party, and that almoſt to the hazard of his life and family, are ſufficient teſtimonies

teſtimonies of his ſincerity to his maſter's intereſt and ſervice.

His houſe was a ſanctuary for diſtreſſed Royaliſts, and his correſpondence with the king's friends (though cloſely managed, as the neceſſities of thoſe times required) are not unknown to thoſe that were the principal managers of his majeſty's affairs at that time. This made that great politician, Oliver Cromwell, ſo apprehenſive of this great aſſertor of his country's rights, and oppoſer of arbitrary government and enthuſiaſm, that, though his vaſt abilities were known, at leaſt, to equal the ableſt pilot of the ſtate, yet we cannot find him among the creatures of his cabinet, or council; nor amongſt the eleven major-generals, to whom the care of the nation was committed: no, their principles, their aims, and deſigns, were incompatible; one was for ſubverting, the other for maintaining, the antient ſtanding fundamentals of the nation; which once diſſolved, it were impoſſible but an univerſal deluge of confuſion, blood and rapine, muſt enſue.

This made our brave patriot, with divers of the heroic Engliſh race, to the utmoſt oppoſe the growth of a protectorian power: ſo that we find Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper accuſed before the parliament, in the year 1659, for keeping intelligence with the king, and for having provided a force of men in Dorſetſhire to join with Sir George Booth in attempting to reſtore and bring his majeſty to

his rightful throne. And we find him one of the nine of the old council of ſtate who ſent that encouraging letter to general Monk, to promote his undertaking for the advantage of the three nations.

Again, we find him in the liſt of that council of ſtate conſiſting of thirty-nine, upon whom an oath was endeavoured to be impoſed for the abjuration of the royal line; but, by the influence of Sir Anthony Aſhley Cooper, and general Monk, upon colonel Morley, that oath was oppoſed in council, as being a ſnare and againſt their conſciences. This was ſtrongly pleaded by the ſoberer part of the council, whereof this great patriot was one; and ſo an end was put to that oath and to the council.

He was returned a member for Dorſetſhire in that which was called the Healing Parliament, which ſat upon the twenty-fifth of April, 1660; and a reſolution being taken to reſtore the conſtitution, he was named one of the twelve members of the houſe of commons to carry their invitation to the king. It was in performing this ſervice that he had the misfortune to be overturned in a carriage upon a Dutch road, and thereby to receive a dangerous wound between the ribbs, which ulcerated many years after, and was opened when he was lord-chancellor.

Upon the king's coming over, he was ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council. He was alſo one of the commiſſioners for the trial

trial of the Regicides; and, though the Oxford hiſtorian is very ſevere upon him on this occaſion, yet he is not believed to have been any ways concerned in betraying or ſhedding the blood of his ſovereign.

By letters patent, dated April 20, 1661, he was created baron Aſhley, of Winborn St. Giles's; ſoon after made chancellor and under-treaſurer of the Exchequer, and then one of the lords commiſſioners for executing the office of high-treaſurer. He was afterwards made lord-lieutenant of the county of Dorſet; and, on the twenty-third of April, 1672, created baron Cooper, of Pawlet, in the county of Somerſet, and earl of Shaftſbury.

On the fourth of November following, he was raiſed to the poſt of lord high-chancellor of England; which office he executed with great ability and integrity. He ſhone particularly in his ſpeeches in parliament; and, if we judge only from thoſe which he made upon the ſwearing in of the lord high-treaſurer Clifford, his ſucceſſor, Sir Thomas Oſborne, and Mr. baron Thurland, we muſt conclude him one of the ableſt men and moſt accompliſhed orators this nation ever bred. The ſhort time he was at the helm, was a ſeaſon of ſtorms and tempeſts; and it is but doing him ſtrict juſtice to ſay, that they could not either affright or diſtract him.

Upon the ninth of November, 1673, he reſigned the great-ſeal, and with ſome parti-

cular circumſtances, which the reader may like to hear. Soon after the breaking up of the parliament, as Mr. Echard relates, the earl was ſent for on Sunday morning to court, as was alſo Sir Heneage Finch, attorney-general, to whom the ſeals were promiſed. As ſoon as the earl came, he retired with the king into the cloſet, while the prevailing party waited in triumph to ſee him return without the purſe. His lordſhip being alone with the king, ſaid, "Sire, I know you intend to give the ſeals to the attorney-general, but I am ſure your majeſty never intended to diſmiſs me with contempt." The king, who could not do an ill-natured thing, replied, "God's fiſh, my lord, I will not do it with any circumſtance that may look like an affront." "Then, ſire," ſaid the earl, "I deſire your majeſty will permit me to carry the ſeals before you to chapel, and then ſend for them afterwards from my houſe." To this his majeſty readily conſented, and the earl entertained the king with news and entertaining ſtories till the very minute he was to go to chapel, purpoſely to amuſe the courtiers and his ſucceſſor, who he believed was upon the rack, for fear he ſhould prevail upon the king to change his mind.

The king and the earl came out of the cloſet, talking together and ſmiling, and went together to chapel, which greatly ſurpriſed them all; and ſome ran immediately to tell the duke of York that all their meaſures were broken.

broken. After ſermon the earl went home with the ſeals, and that evening the king gave them to the attorney-general.

After he had quitted the court, he continued to make a great figure in parliament; his abilities enabled him to ſhine, and he was not of a nature to reſt. In 1675, the lord-treaſurer Danby introduced the teſt-bill into the houſe of lords, which was vigorouſly oppoſed by the earl of Shaftſbury, who, if we may believe biſhop Burnet, diſtinguiſhed himſelf more in this ſeſſions than ever he had done before. This diſpute occaſioned a prorogation, and there enſued a receſs of fifteen months.

When the parliament met again on the ſixteenth of February, 1676-7, the duke of Buckingham argued, That it ought to be conſidered as diſſolved. The earl of Shaftſbury was of the ſame opinion, and maintained it with ſo much warmth, that, together with the duke before-mentioned, the earl of Saliſbury, and the lord Wharton, he was ſent to the Tower, where he continued for thirteen months, though the other lords, upon their ſubmiſſion, were immediately diſcharged.

When he was ſet at liberty, he managed the oppoſition to the earl of Danby's adminiſtration with ſuch vigour and dexterity, that it was found impoſſible to do any thing effectually in parliament without changing the ſyſtem which then prevailed.

The

The king, who desired nothing so much as to be easy, resolved to make a change, dismissed all the privy-council at once, and formed a new one. This was declared on the twenty-first of April, 1679; and, at the same time, the earl of Shaftsbury was appointed lord-president. He did not hold this employment longer than the fifth of October following. He had drawn upon himself the implacable hatred of the duke of York, by steadily promoting, if not originally inventing, the project of an exclusion bill; and therefore no wonder if a party was constantly at work against him.

It is almost incredible, how, in this interval, the papists lifted up their heads, braving the very face of justice; for now they had got such a cast of evidence, that would have accused innocence itself; there being a large sum of money offered by the lady Powis, if any would undertake to murder the earl of Shaftsbury, against whom the rage of that bloody party was now so great that they left no base and unwarrantable action unattempted to rob him of his life. Some were hired to stab or shoot him, others to swear treason against him, or any other course the devil could suggest, so as he were but made away, on whose life they thought the ill success of their diabolical machine depended. Libels, containing the blackest treasons against his majesty, were forged in the names of the

most

moſt eminent proteſtant peers of the nation, ſcarce any perſons of integrity againſt the Roman ſuperſtitions, but would have been made a party to it: but, who ever was omitted, the lord Shaftſbury was ſure to be drawn into the plot.

Theſe were, by their mercenary agents, ſecretly to be conveyed into the houſes of the Proteſtants aforeſaid; and then they wanted not a ſet of baſe and mean ſpirited villains to ſwear it home upon them; perſons of that profligate and contemptible diſpoſition, that, for a meſs of pottage, would not only forſake all claim to honeſty and virtue, but proſtitute their ſouls to the luſt and ambition of the worſt of men: but theſe were no new things to the brave and excellent, to be expoſed by trials of this nature to the rage of brutiſh and inhuman wretches. To what a pitch of heroic magnanimity muſt that perſon needs be arrived that can buoy up his ſoul againſt ſuch foul tempeſts, when the conſideration of ſimple innocence ſhall maintain a perpetual ſerenity within, amidſt all the cloudy fogs of adverſity!

Mr. Dangerfield gives a large account, in his Narrative, of two ſeveral times that he had attempted the life of the earl of Shatftſbury; and that he had been inſtigated thereto by the popiſh prieſts, and that the lady Powis, particularly, had offered him five hundred pounds to perform it, whereof he received twenty pounds in part, but that ſtill he had been

been providentially diſappointed of that barbarous enterprize.

One day, Dame Cellier demanded of him, whether he had diſpatched the earl; and he replying, that he could have no opportunity to come at him; "Give me the poniard," ſaid ſhe, "you ſhall ſee what a woman can do for the catholic cauſe:" and, accordingly, by the inſtigations of the devil, and a helliſh rage which the Papiſts miſcall a holy zeal, ſhe addreſſed herſelf to the execution of that execrable deſign. She made a viſit to the earl, under pretence of paying her thanks for favours obtained through his means; but the conſecrated dagger ſtill lurked under the ſkirt of her gown, ready to have expreſſed her gratitude by opening the veins of this proteſtant peer's heart. He had no reaſon to be over-fond of the converſation of ſuch cattle; and therefore, in a ſhort time, ſhe was diſmiſſed without having an opportunity of putting her wicked and treacherous deſign in execution.

The catholic gallantry ſtops not here, but purſues this noble peer with forgery of his hand, other, their little black artifices, and ſham-plots. What baſe and villainous arts the Papiſts uſed, to deſtroy the lord Shaftſbury, is not only evident by their many endeavours to have ſtabbed him, as hath been depoſed by divers perſons, to whom the parliament, as well as the nation, have given belief; but may be further confirmed by their intercepting letters

letters directed to his lordſhip: and after they had, in a hand as near the original as they could counterfeit, inſerted treaſon in them, they were tranſmitted to ſuch as would certainly acquaint the miniſtry with it. In ſhort, one ſtory of their miſchievous practice of this kind, is this:

There was a gentleman, who was a commander of a regiment of horſe in the ſervice of Charles I. and loſt all for his ſake; and his majeſty, Charles II. wrote to the noble peer about relieving him againſt the gout, with which he uſed to be afflicted. This letter was intercepted; and, the perſon then living in the French king's dominions, after adding to it an account, that the writer was able to furniſh the earl with forty thouſand men from France, to oppoſe the duke of York's intereſt, it was then conveyed to ſome of the French king's miniſters, who they ſuppoſed would ſend a copy of it hither; but, by a ſtrange providence, the original was returned into the gentleman's own hands.

So endleſs were the deſigns and conſpiracies of the Papiſts againſt this noble peer, that, notwithſtanding they met with many diſappointments in their attempts, the Almighty Providence protecting his innocence from their helliſh machinations, that another female agent was diſcovered for tampering with Mr. Dugdale to retract what he had ſworn before the king and parliament, towards the detec-

tion

tion of the damnable popiſh plot, the ſum of two thouſand pounds was offered him, by one Mrs. Price, and divers great perſons named by her to be ſecurity for the payment of it, in caſe he would ſign ſuch a recantation, and affix the odium of a proteſtant or preſbyterian plot on ſome of the proteſtant peers, and others of known loyalty and integrity to their prince and country; particularly on the right honourable the earl of Shaftſbury: of which barbarous deſign, Mr. Dugdale (being at that time touched with ſome remorſe at ſuch a horrid villainy) gave his lordſhip an account, which occaſioned the miſcarrying of that foul and traiterous enterprize.

Nor were they wanting in their famous method and artifice in calumniating and throwing dirt on the reputation of this noble peer, which is a faculty they are very famous for, and on the account of which they may particularly value themſelves; for a pacquet of baſe libels, and treaſonable reflections, were, by the penny-poſt, tranſmitted to a printer, and copies of the ſame diſperſed about the parts of Weſtminſter, full of venomous and malicious ſlanders, and imputations, tending to take away the life of that proteſtant earl, and divers other peers of right honourable account; but the printer deteſting ſo black a deſign, publiſhed an invitation to any perſon that would detect the author or publiſher of that infamous libel.

In

In October, during the ſeſſion of the laſt parliament, it was very remarkable, that Franciſco de Faria, interpreter to the Portugal ambaſſador, amongſt other high matters relating to the popiſh plot, gave it in his information, at the bar of the houſe, he declared, that the ſaid ambaſſador had tempted him to kill the earl of Shatſbury, by throwing a hand grenado into his coach as he was paſſing the road into the country: and, about the twentieth of November, one Zeal being called to the bar of the houſe, delivered his information at the bar; That, being a priſoner in the Marſhalſea, Mrs. Cellier came divers times to him, and treated with him, not only to be inſtrumental himſelf, but to procure others to aſſiſt him, to fire his majeſty's ſhips as they lay in the harbour; as alſo to ſwear againſt the earl of Shaftſbury ſuch articles of high-treaſon as ſhe ſhould get ready prepared for him; or to that purpoſe. To ſum up the various methods and ways that were deviſed, and put in execution, to cut off the life of this noble peer, would be taſk enough to fill up many volumes.

Upon the king's ſummoning a parliament to meet at Oxford, on the twenty-firſt of March, 1680 1, he joined with ſeveral lords in a petition to prevent its meeting there; which, however, failed of ſucceſs. He was preſent at that parliament, and ſtrenuouſly ſupported the excluſion-bill; but the duke and his friends ſoon contrived to make him feel the weight of

of his reſentments; for his lordſhip was apprehended for high-treaſon on the ſecond of July, 1681; and, after being examined by his majeſty in council, was committed to the Tower, where he remained upwards of four months.

He was at length tried, acquitted, and diſcharged; yet did not think himſelf ſafe, as his bittereſt enemies were now in the zenith of their power. He thought it high time, therefore, to ſeek for ſome place of retirement, where, out of the reach of their endeavours to injure him, he might wear out the ſmall remainder of his life in peace. It was with this view, that, in November, 1682, he embarked for Holland; and arriving ſafely at Amſterdam, after a very dangerous voyage, he took a houſe there, propoſing to live in a manner ſuitable to his quality, being viſited by perſons of the firſt diſtinction, and treated with all the deference and reſpect he could deſire: but being ſeized by his old diſtemper, the gout, it immediately flew up into his ſtomach, and ſoon became mortal; ſo that he expired on the twenty-ſecond of January, 1682-3, in the ſixty-ſecond year of his age.

His body being embalmed, was tranſported to England, and interred with his anceſtors at Winborne St. Giles; and, in 1732, a noble monument, with a large inſcription to his honour, was erected by the preſent earl of Shaftſbury.

It

It was a misfortune to this noble perſonage, that thoſe who were angry with him have tranſmitted to poſterity the hiſtory of the times in which he lived, and of that government in which he had ſo large a ſhare; and this may, in ſome meaſure, account for his making ſo amiable a figure in hiſtory; and, that, while his prodigious abilities ſtand confeſſed by all, the goodneſs and integrity of his intentions are hardly acknowledged by any. It is alſo not to be imagined, at this diſtance, what arts and contrivances were ſet on foot by his enemies in his life-time to render his name odious and deteſtable.

Marchmont Needham, who had been employed by the Regicides and the parliament to vilify the royal family in the moſt ſcandalous and barbarous manner, was paid by the miniſters to abuſe and defame the earl of Shaftſbury. This he did with great pleaſure, in a quarto pamphlet, intitled, A Pacquet of Advices, and Animadverſions, ſent from London to the Men of Shaftſbury; which is of Uſe for all his Majeſty's Subjects in the Three Kingdoms. London, 1676. And, what is remarkable enough, his abuſe is transferred, verbatim, into the account given of this noble perſon by the Oxford hiſtorian.

The earl of Shaftſbury was alſo repreſented as having had the vanity to expect to be choſen king of Poland; and this made way for calling him count Tapſky, alluding to the tap which had been applied upon the breaking out

of

of the ulcer between his ribs when he was lord-chancellor. It was alſo a ſtanding-jeſt, with the lower form of wits, to ſtile him Shiftſbury inſtead of Shaftſbury.

It is remarked that Sir Paul Neal watered his mares with Rheniſh and ſugar; that is, entertained his miſtreſſes. His lordſhip is ſuppoſed to have been a little intemperate in this way; and it is recorded, that king Charles II. who would both take liberties and bear them, once ſaid to the earl at court, in a vein of raillery and good-humour, and in reference only to his amours, "I believe, Shaftſbury, thou art the wickedeſt fellow in my dominions:" to which, with a low bow, and very grave face, the earl replied, "May it pleaſe your majeſty, of a ſubject I believe I am." At which the merry monarch laughed moſt heartily.

THE

FEB
72

Tringham Sculp

Duke of Ormond

THE LIFE OF

JAMES BUTLER,

DUKE OF ORMOND,

Including the MEMOIRS of the EARL OF OSSORY.

JAMES BUTLER, the ſeventh earl, and firſt duke, of Ormond, was born in 1610, and, at the age of three years, paſſed over into Ireland, a year before the death of the old earl Thomas, whoſe figure and careſſes he always after remembered.

In 1619, his father Thomas, eldeſt ſon of Walter, earl of Ormond, being drowned in his paſſage to England, he was called lord James, as heir-apparent of his grandfather. The year afterwards he was brought by his mother to England, and lived, for a ſhort time, with a popiſh ſchoolmaſter, who bred him in the errors of the Romiſh church till king James, who conſidered him as a ward of the crown, placed him in the houſe of archbiſhop Abbot: but having, at that time, ſeized upon his grandfather's eſtate, allowed him only forty pounds a year for the ſupport

of

of himſelf and his ſervant; and made the archbiſhop no allowance for his maintainance or education: which was probably one reaſon why he was taught nothing — A neglect which might have deprived the age of one of its greateſt ornaments, had not diligence and capacity found means to ſupply the want of education.

At the age of ſixteen he left Lambeth, and lived with his grandfather, who had now recovered his liberty and a great part of his eſtate: and now, being no longer confined to his former penurious allowance, he engaged in the amuſements and diverſions of young men, and was particularly delighted with the performances of the theatre; ſo that moſt of the eminent players had the honour of his acquaintance: but he did not looſe in his diverſion that regard to his fortune and intereſt, which becomes a rational and prudent mind; for ſeeing the eſtate of lord Preſton, which had been with ſo much violence forced from the houſe of Ormond, now wholly devolved to an heireſs, he found means of marrying her, and ſo put an end to the differences which had given ſo much diſturbance to both families, and by which his grandfather had ſo ſeverely ſuffered.

In 1632, about two years after his marriage, he became, by the death of his grandfather, earl of Ormond; and, being naturally of an active and enterprizing character, ſoon engaged in public affairs; and grew, by the

countenance of the earl of Strafford, then lord-deputy of Ireland, one of the chief actors in the houſe of peers.

The regard which the deputy, who was remarkably well qualified to judge of men, thought it always proper to ſhew him, was begun by a very odd occurrence. The animoſity in the Iriſh parliament had riſen ſo high, that there was danger leſt their debates ſhould terminate in blood; and leſt, as it has been related of popiſh aſſemblies, they ſhould appeal from argument to the ſword. For this reaſon, the lord-deputy publiſhed a proclamation by which he forbad any man to ſit in either houſe with his ſword; a precaution which had been uſed in former times, and in other places where uſages were now ſettled; and the chief governor was more reſtrained, and ſo was, by no means, unjuſtifiable in this caſe.

When the lords therefore entered the houſe, their ſwords were delivered by them at the door to the uſher of the black-rod, who ſtood ready to receive them; but, when the earl of Ormond was about to enter, he refuſed to deliver his ſword; and told the uſher, who, with the uſual confidence of momentary power, enforced his demand with ſome rudeneſs, That, if he had his ſword, it ſhould be in his guts. The deputy, imagining his authority treated, by this refuſal, with contempt, ſent for the earl, and demanded the reaſon of his diſobedience; but was anſwered, by being

preſented with the writ in which he was ſummoned, as earl of Ormond, to ſit in parliament girded with a ſword. The deputy had nothing ready to offer as a reply, and the earl therefore was diſmiſſed, not only without cenſure, but with ſuch eſteem of ſpirit (which was, indeed, on this occaſion, more conſpicuous than his prudence, that the lord-deputy had him, ever afterwards, in particular eſteem; and, when he returned to England, recommended him to the privy-council as one who was likely to prove a great and able ſervant of the crown.

In 1640, an army being thought neceſſary to be raiſed in Ireland, the care of making the levies, and aſcertaining their maintainance, from the funds which the parliament had provided, was repoſed in the earl of Ormond. This army was to have rendeſvouzed at Carrickfergus, and to have been tranſported from thence to Scotland, but this pacification which ſoon after followed, prevented the execution of the deſign.

The next year broke out the terrible and bloody Iriſh rebellion, made for ever memorable by a rage of cruelty ſcarcely ever exerciſed on any other occaſion, and which filled that unhappy country, for many years, with ſlaughter and deſolation. The moſt cruel, and moſt furious, though not the ableſt leader of this rebellion, was Sir Phelim O'Neil, who began the deſign on the twenty-ſecond of October, the day appointed for the general inſurrection,

ſurrection, by the ſeizure of the caſtle of Charlemount, a very important fort upon the paſs of Blackwater.

The perfidy with which he tranſacted this firſt part of his ſcheme, was a natural prelude to the barbarities which he practiſed in the proſecution of it. He ſent word to the lord Charlemount, who was governor of the fortreſs, that he would that day be his gueſt; and an entertainment was accordingly provided; to which, as was not uncommon in thoſe times, great numbers reſorted, as to a general feſtival. Lord Charlemount had one company of ſoldiers in his garriſon; but they not ſuſpecting danger, and being equally inclined with the ſtrangers to paſs the day in plenty and merriment, laid aſide their arms, and mingled with the company. The table was ſpread, the gueſts were gay, and all was jollity and civility till towards evening, when Sir Phelim finding all his accomplices entered, and all dangers of reſiſtance removed, ſeized upon lord Charlemount, and his family, while his followers murdered or ſecured the ſoldiers, and took poſſeſſion of the caſtle.

On the ſame day, many other chieftains raiſed their ſepts, and endeavoured to take poſſeſſion of the towns in their neighbourhood; at ſome of which they ſucceeded, and at others were diſappointed. They grew, however every day ſtronger, as they were abſolute lords of all that was to be found in the open country, and had therefore ſufficient means to

tempt the needy peaſants to join them. The whole country of Craven was reduced by Philip O'Reily, and ſeven others by other leaders, in the firſt week; and Sir Phelim O'Neal had gathered, in the ſame time, a body of near thirty thouſand men; which is a ſufficient proof of the Iriſh to rebel: but is it not likewiſe a reaſonable ground of ſuſpicion, that, ſince the effect muſt bear a natural proportion to the cauſe, they had received ſome general provocations; that the Engliſh had forgotten that induſtry with which diſputed titles ought always to be enjoyed; and, that kindneſs, with which intruders, however powerful, and however ſupported, ought always to endeavour to recommend themſelves to original inhabitants?

There is, however, a diſtinction always to be made between ſeverity and inhumanity. If the Iriſh thought themſelves oppreſſed, and to be reinſtated in the rights of nature only by the ſword, they might give many arguments, and ſhew many precedents, for recourſe to it; but, for the butcheries they committed, without reſiſtance, without provocation, and without advantage, nothing can be pleaded; at leaſt nothing but what may ſerve as an excuſe for any other wickedneſs; that they were heated in the proſecution of their deſign beyond compaſſion and beyond policy.

It is apparent that the followers of Phelim O'Neal had, in a ſhort time, learned to take pleaſure in cruelty; and not only to murder thoſe

thoſe who fell into their hands without reluctance, but with merriment and delight: and, ſo much had he heightened their barbarity, that, if they happened to have no priſoners to deſtroy, they would amuſe themſelves with ſeizing the cattle, not to drive them away or devour them, but to torture them; and would cut off the legs of ſheep or oxen, and leave them to expire in lingering agonies. By this ſtupid cruelty, did they deſtroy great numbers of the cattle which the death or eſcape of the owners put into their hands: and by this practice did they, in any interval of human maſſacre, keep their hearts from learning to relent.

Sir Phelim was ſo far from endeavouring to repreſs this rage of cruelty, that he encouraged it by his own example; for, whenever he was accidentally diſcompoſed, his rage always broke out in ſome horrible and uſeleſs act of cruelty. At one time he ordered the lord Charlemount, whom he had ſeized at Charlemount to be ſhot; at another, he maſſacred great numbers whom he had received, under his own hand, to quarter; and was every day inciting himſelf and his followers to new forms of barbarity, and accumulating one murder upon another.

The accounts which have been generally received of this horrid maſſacre, are, in many circumſtances, very remote from truth. It is aſſerted, that, at leaſt, one hundred and fifty thouſand Engliſh were deſtroyed; and, to ag-

gravate the horror, it is added, that they were all butchered in one day; but it is certain, that there was no particular day remarkable for bloodſhed: and it is probable, that the numbers maſſacred did not exceed thirty-ſeven thouſand.—A dreadful ſlaughter, which ſurely needs not to be made more deteſtable by any exaggerations.

To trace the progreſs of this rebellion from country to country, and to ſhew how one city was taken after another, and all parts of the kingdom ſucceſſively laid waſte, is not neceſſary to our preſent deſign; but it is always proper, in relating calamities, to mention likewiſe the beſt manner of obviating or eſcaping them; and therefore it is the duty of an hiſtorian to obſerve, that the rebellion roſe to its height, and became irreſiſtable, not by the valour or policy of the Iriſh, but by the imprudence or cowardice of thoſe whom they invaded. The rebels had, indeed, in a ſhort time, raiſed great numbers, but they were without arms; and therefore, if the Engliſh, inſtead of endeavouring to provide every man for his own private ſecurity, had unanimouſly aſſembled in large bodies, and oppoſed their enemies in the field, they might eaſily, as they wanted not weapons among them, have diſperſed a naked and tumultuary rabble, which could not be armed, but by degrees, with the weapons which their plunder furniſhed; and who, without arms, could only diſtreſs and embarraſs one another.

That

That this method would have been ſucceſsful appeared from the conſequences of reſiſtance where-ever it was made; for, at the begining of the commotions, when any gentleman, either bred to arms, or incited by his natural courage to diſpute his fortune and his life, was able to collect a ſmall party, and to make a ſtand againſt the Iriſh, he ſcarcely ever failed of defeating them, and preſerving himſelf and neighbours; till, partly by ravages, and partly by purchaſe in other countries, the Iriſh had provided themſelves with weapons; and, by frequent encounters with inferior numbers, had been taught to uſe them with ſkill and confidence.

Of this the earl of Ormond was ſo much convinced, that, having, about this time, received the following commiſſion to be lieutenant-general of the king's forces, he made an offer to the lords juſtices, to march againſt them with ſix troops of horſe, and two thouſand five hundred foot; with which he made no doubt of defeating and diſperſing them, if they were attacked, without delay, before they had gathered any cavalry, or had time to furniſh themſelves with arms.

"ORMOND,

"THOUGH I am ſorry for this occaſion I have to ſend unto you, which is the ſudden and unexpected rebellion of a great and conſiderable part of Ireland; yet I am

glad to have ſo faithful and able a ſervant as you are, to whom I may freely and confidently write in ſo important a buſineſs. This is therefore to deſire you to accept of that charge over this, which you lately had over the former army. The which, tho' you may have ſome reaſon to excuſe, (as not being ſo well acquainted with this lord-lieutenant as you was with the laſt) yet I am confident, that my deſire, and the importance of the buſineſs, will eaſily overcome that difficulty; which layed aſide for my ſake, I ſhall accept as a great renewed teſtimony of that affection which I know you have to my ſervice. So referring what I have elſe to ſay to captain Weerns's relation, I reſt

Your moſt aſſured Friend,

Edinburgh,
31ſt of October,
1641.

CHARLES R."

In conſequence of this commiſſion, the earl of Ormond continued to ſerve the king with all the zeal that bravery and fidelity could inſpire, though not with the ſucceſs which might have been expected from him, had he been at liberty to form his own meaſures, and to lay hold of thoſe advantages which, whenever his own diligence had procured them, the delays of the lords juſtices compelled him to loſe; and, in the mean time, he was forced to ſtruggle with numberleſs calumnies, which his loyalty to the king probably

bably drew upon him; for, at this time, the prevailing party in England began to ſet their ſovereign at open defiance, and to charge him, amongſt other attempts againſt the conſtitution and religion of the nation, with the crime of having encouraged the rebellion and maſſacre of Ireland.

The earl of Ormond, however, having defeated the rebels at Kilruſh, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by many other actions as a general and ſubject, the king, ſince his affairs were at that time in ſuch a ſituation that he had nothing but honours to beſtow, thought it proper to diſtinguiſh him by a higher title; and therefore, in 1642, created him marquis of Ormond.

About the ſame time, a controverſy between him and the earl of Leiceſter, then lord-lieutenant, was decided in ſuch a manner as gave him power to diſpoſe, while the lord-lieutenant was abſent, of all the poſts that ſhould become vacant in the army: by which his intereſt was encreaſed, and his authority confirmed; as the ſoldiers had no means of obtaining preferment but by gaining the approbation of their general: but this new dignity conferred no ſtrength, and he was only expoſed to the mortification of ſeeing himſelf unable to return the regard which had been ſhewn him by his maſter, by any important ſervice; which he had every day leſs hopes of effecting, as the parliament declared more openly againſt the king. Some forces were in

deed ſent, but under commanders who rather hindered than promoted the ſubjection of the rebels; for, by plundering all indiſcriminately, they weakened thoſe moſt who were leaſt able to bear new loſſes; by diſregarding all thoſe who acted by the king's authority, they deſtroyed the union which was neceſſary to ſucceſs; and, by treating the whole kingdom with unreaſonable ſeverity, they encouraged the opinion, that nothing leſs than extirpation was intended; and therefore added to the ardour of reſentment the fury of deſpair.

The marquis, reſtrained in the execution of his power, by directions from the juſtices, unſeaſonably and offenſively circumſtantial, and was ſo much perplexed with diſtruſt and miſrepreſentation, that nothing prevented his reſignation of his command, but the certain knowledge that he would be ſucceeded by ſome one not equally anxious to promote the advantage, and defend the honour, of the king.

About this time it was thought neceſſary to ſend the army into the field, and an expedition was intended for the conqueſt of Roſe and Wexford. The marquis of Ormond ſet out therefore with his forces, and came before Roſe on the twelfth of March, 1643; and would ſoon have been able to take it, being at firſt but weakly garriſoned, had not the juſtices neglected to ſend him, not only ammunition, but victuals for his ſoldiers; all which being to be tranſported by ſea, were ſo negligently

negligently provided, that the wind, which was for many days favourable, altered before the veſſel was ready for the voyage; and the army, inſtead of annoying the enemy, had no care ſo preſſing as that of procuring bread, which was ſent, in a very little quantity, from the garriſon of Duncannon.

Having no proviſions, and being unable to lye before a town well provided, they firſt reſolved upon an attack, which was made without ſucceſs, though with no great loſs; but there was no time for enlarging the breach, or proceeding by more ſlow and certain methods, for Preſton had now gathered an army of ſix thouſand foot, and ſix hundred and fifty horſe; and, by having poſſeſſion of the country, cut off the foragers, and reduced the beſiegers to the neceſſity of abandoning their deſign, or of ſtarving in their camp. A council was called in this exigence, by which it was ſoon determined to come to an engagement, for there was indeed nothing elſe in their power: and therefore the army was immediately drawn off from before the place, and marched againſt the enemy, who, determining to give them battle, waited only for the attack.

The battle laſted not long before Preſton's troops gave way, and fled firſt to a bog, and then over the Barrow, where he broke down the bridge behind him, and left the marquis to ſupply himſelf with neceſſaries from

the country, which was now wholly at his mercy.

But the diſtreſs and poverty of the army was the ſame after the victory as before it; for, though the country, which was now open to them, furniſhed them with proviſions for their retreat, yet, being naked and exhauſted, it would not ſupply any ſtores for a longer ſupport, and therefore they returned to Dublin, where they found the ſame diſtreſs; and where they were again to repreſent, to remonſtrate, to petition, and to ſtarve. The juſtices were unwilling that the king ſhould receive any information of the ſtate of the nation, or of the army; and therefore the marquis of Ormond, who was not equally inclined to make his ſovereign contemptible, ſent, without their concurrence, ſuch a narrative as was concerted by him with ſeveral of the privy-council.

This, with other accounts which had been tranſmitted, had ſuch an effect, that Sir William Parſons was at length removed from his poſt of lord-juſtice, and was ſucceeded by Sir Henry Tichbourne, who had more affection for the king's ſervice. But the change of one of the governors, though it might ſet the marquis free from ſome embarraſments, could contribute very little to the ſupport of the army, whoſe neceſſities grew every day more preſſing, and whoſe hopes of relief became more diſtant; for the Papiſts enlarged their quarters

quarters on every ſide, and the imprudence of ſome officers, and the barbarity of others, by whom the Proteſtants were commanded, was ſuch, that they were perpetually encreaſing that hatred which, among bigots, was naturally raiſed by the imputation of hereſy, and diſpoſed multitudes to riſe againſt them, who had of themſelves no inclination to war, or neceſſity of living by plunder.

Diſtreſs thus hourly encreaſing, and the enemy, though they were often driven out of the field, yet returning to it with greater numbers, it was at length thought convenient by the king, that a ceſſation of arms ſhould be propoſed; and a commiſſion to treat was ſent to the marquis of Ormond, who thought it neceſſary, but knew not how to ſet it on foot without inconvenience or diſgrace to his ſovereign.

It was neceſſary, to the king's honour, that the firſt offer ſhould be made by the rebels; and it was likewiſe proper, that the council ſhould own, in ſome ſolemn manner, their conviction of the impracticability of eſtabliſhing the peace of the nation by any other means.

In order to procure the firſt overtures from the Iriſh, agents were employed who, after long deliberation, prevailed upon them to propoſe a ceſſation for twelve months; and, that the juſtices might have no pretences that a negotiation of ſuch importance was ſet on foot, either without their concurrence, or in oppoſition to their advice, the marquis firſt demanded,

demanded, in a full council, Whether any man could offer a propoſal more honourable for the king, or more advantageous to the nation, than that of a ceſſation? None had any thing to offer, or could give information of any meaſures that had a probable appearance of ſucceſs; and therefore a ceſſation was neceſſarily to be admitted as the only reſource then remaining. The marquis was willing, however, that no poſſibility of ſuſpicion ſhould be left, that might ſubject this part of his conduct to the imputation of cowardice, or inclination to gratify the rebels by conceſſions which might have been avoided; and therefore, to put a ſtop for ever to all ſuch inſinuations, he made an offer, That, if the juſtices and council, who were beſt acquainted with the condition of the ſtate, could procure only ten thouſand pounds, half in money, and half in victuals, he would ſtill proſecute the war, and endeavour to enlarge his quarters.

Upon this propoſal, the mayor of Dublin, and ſome of the moſt wealthy citizens, were required to attend, and conſulted by what means ſuch a ſupply could be procured: but they declared their opinion, that no ſuch levy could be made; and, that the country was too much exhauſted to be able to give any farther aſſiſtance for its own preſervation. The marquis was therefore at full liberty to purſue his own meaſures, and proceed to negotiate a ceſſation.

It

It is not to be imagined, but that the rebels were fully ſenſible of their own ſuperiority, and were therefore not eaſily to be perſuaded to ſuch terms as it was fit to allow them; for it was neceſſary for the government to maintain an air of ſuperiority, even when its diſtreſſes could not but be known; and therefore was not to be avoided, that many difficulties would ariſe which, between enemies of another kind, could not have happened.

About this time, arrived likewiſe a commiſſioner from the pope, with a ſupply of money and with ſtores of war. Theſe added great weight to the influence which he exerted in oppoſing the ceſſation: but there were ſtill, in the army of the Papiſts, men of great rank and reputation, who ſtill retained their duty to the king, and who wiſhed, with the utmoſt ardour, to put a ſtop to the deſolations of their country. Theſe men ſtruggled very earneſtly for the ceſſation, and by their means it was at laſt concluded.

The articles were not ratified till the fifteenth of September; and, in the mean time, the Iriſh had not only gathered in the harveſt almoſt without interruption, but had frequently adventured by night into the other quarters, and reaped the corn, and carried it away: ſo that the only juſt complaint that could be made againſt the ceſſation, was, that it was too long delayed; but that delay was unavoidable, where ſo many men, of different

different intereſts, opinions, and inclinations, were to be conſulted.

This ceſſation, however, while it hurt only the Papiſts, whoſe union it broke, and whoſe ardour it relaxed, was repreſented by the enemies of the marquis, and not leſs by thoſe of the king, as an unſeaſonable conceſſion; and loud clamours were raiſed, as if the proteſtant intereſt had been betrayed, and the nation given up by treaty.

This ceſſation being thus concluded, the influence, fidelity, and diligence of the marquis of Ormond became ſo conſpicuous, that it was thought neceſſary to confer upon him the lieutenancy of the kingdom; and he ſoon afterwards received the ſword, and entered upon his office; not, indeed, with much hope of ſerving his king, or of remedying many of the diſorders. They had proceeded too far to give way to a government which was without any force to ſupport it; which only a very ſmall diſtrict profeſſed to obey; and which had no advantage, but that of its legality. He had therefore this only comfort, that, tho' he could not do much, he could yet do more than any other man; and, that what authority was yet maintained by his ſovereign in Ireland, was the conſequence of the reputation and influence of the lieutenant.

In the beginning of his lieutenancy, he was embarraſſed with many difficulties, which cannot, in this place, be recounted. He was to endeavour

endeavour to retain all, without having the means of recompencing any; and to command without the power of compulſion. There were few who thought their duty of ſo much importance as to be preferable to their intereſt; and undoubtedly many, if they were inclined to the right, were, in the diſtraction of oppoſite motives, unable to determine their own choice.

In the midſt of theſe perplexing diſturbances, it was hoped that he might ſend ſome aſſiſtance to the Royaliſts; but armies could not be enliſted, nor tranſported, without pay and proviſion; and he was unprovided with money.

The Iriſh, during the quiet of the ceſſation, by which ſome deſires of a fixed and laſting peace could not but be excited, ſent commiſſioners to Oxford to treat with the king; but, at firſt, propoſed conditions which could not, without reproach, be made the foundation of a treaty; and on which, therefore, no conference was allowed. They ſoon diſcovered that they had required more than could be granted; and therefore, in a few days, moderated their demands, inſiſting only on the abrogation of the penal laws againſt recuſants; the rights of enjoying poſts and offices in the government; the excluſion from the parliament of all perſons who had not eſtates in the kingdom of Ireland; and a general act of oblivion which ſhould ſecure both perſon and eſtate.

To

To theſe, ſeveral other propoſitions were added, of leſs importance, or leſs extenſive in their conſequences: upon which the treaty of peace was wholly referred to the marquis of Ormond, who was more acquainted than they with the condition of Ireland; and whoſe perſonal influence on many of the commiſſioners might enable him to reaſon with more immediate reference to their particular opinions and deſigns, and to ſuggeſt motives more likely to operate upon their minds than general arguments.

His knowledge, likewiſe, of the affairs of the kingdom, which was under his government, would give him opportunity of diſtinguiſhing between the propoſitions of more or leſs importance, and of the conſequences which might be hoped or feared from any grant or denial. There were not, indeed, reaſons wanting for throwing the burthen of this treaty upon the lord-lieutenant; but moſt of the arguments which inclined the council at Oxford to chuſe him for the taſk, were of equal weight to determine him againſt the undertaking: and the event of this treaty gave the lieutenant new conviction of the impoſſibility of a valuable ſervice to be performed by him; and, as it was natural to deſire, that it might appear from equal failures in others, that his impotence was not the effect of negligence, or want of dexterity; and, as he ſoon grew weary of a poſt in which he found nothing but the name of authority, and the

pomp

pomp of government, he entreated the king's permiſſion to lay down the ſword, that the direction of the affairs of Ireland might be committed to ſome perſon more equal to the burthen.

Before his departure, however, the marquis, by his unwearied endeavours, ſaw the peace concluded, without any conceſſions diſadvantageous to the proteſtant religion, or derogatory from the honour of the king. The marquis of Ormond, alſo, in order to the promotion of the king's intereſt, and the reconciliation of the confederate Iriſh, he alſo marched with a ſmall force to Kilkenny, where he was received with reſpect, by the ſupreme council, as a governor of the kingdom; and from thence he proceeded into the remoter parts of the iſland; but had not went far before he received intelligence of a deſign laid by O'Neil to ſurprize him, and to force him to conſent to a new peace upon other terms. O'Neil was to be aſſiſted by Preſton; and both were endeavouring, in the moſt ſecret manner, to direct the march of their forces, ſo as to intercept the lieutenant in his progreſs.

Of this deſign he received ſuch accounts as he could not diſtruſt, and therefore returned to Dublin with the utmoſt caution and expedition; his waggons being plundered at Kilkenny, and his plate, and other things of value, taken away.

The pope's nuncio then in Ireland now found himſelf maſter of the field; and, that his

his deſigns might be no longer obſtructed, led his army to Kilkenny, and impriſoned the ſupreme council, which he had found not ſufficiently diſpoſed to comply with his propoſals.

That the government might be carried on, he ſummoned an aſſembly of the clergy, who inveſted themſelves with the authority which they had taken from the council, and aſſumed the unlimitted direction of temporal as well as ſpiritual affairs. They were now at the height of proſperity, and endeavouring to extend their authority to the utmoſt boundaries of the kingdom, determined to put an end to the lieutenant's authority, and ordered their forces to beſiege Dublin.

The two bodies of men under O'Neil and Preſton, did not wholly truſt, or very diligently aſſiſt each other; and there was ſome proſpect of a treaty of Preſton for a union with the lord-lieutenant againſt O'Neil; but Preſton was a man ſo little ſteady, and the Iriſh confederates had ſo little fidelity, that nothing was to be truſted to their honour or their oaths; and therefore the marquis would not put the laſt remains of the proteſtant power into their hands; but reſolved to ſuſtain a ſiege in Dublin, which he had fortified and provided as well as he could; the marchioneſs and ladies having, to encourage the workmen and inhabitants, carrried baſkets of mould to form the trenches.

But, though fortifications might be built, proviſion could not be procured in an exhauſted

hauſted country; and therefore his enemies, who were well acquainted with his diſtreſs, had nothing more to provide againſt than the importation of victuals; and they might reduce the town without batteries or aſſaults; nor could he have avoided to fall into their hands, without the poſſibility of a ſtruggle for victory, by any other way than that of delivering the city, and the commiſſion by which he governed the kingdom, to the powers then prevailing in England; to whom, the king had informed him, that he deſired the kingdom ſhould, when it could be kept no longer, be reſigned, rather than to the Iriſh.

When the commiſſioners, who were diſpatched to treat with him for the ſurrender of the city, and of his authority, arrived at Dublin, they likewiſe were inclined to impoſe ſuch conditions upon him, as the diſtreſs to which they ſaw him reduced might oblige him to accept. But theſe he thought inconſiſtent with his honour and his duty, and therefore rejected their offers, and ſuffered them to depart without any agreement: but his diſtreſſes every day encreaſing, and the inhabitants of the place growing diſcontented, he was at laſt conſtrained to yield on ſuch terms as he could obtain; and, on the twenty-eighth of July, 1647, reſigned the ſword of authority, and departed from the kingdom which he had defended with ſo much fidelity, and governed with ſo much wiſdom.

The

The confederates durſt no longer continue the ſiege, but retired when the new garriſon was admitted, and returned into the country, where it was now neceſſary for them to unite againſt a more furious and potent enemy; and to provide for their defence, by ſtrengthening their fortifications and encreaſing their forces, aſcertaining their intelligence, and ſtoring their magazines.

Thoſe that had adhered to the king and the marquis, were now without any advantage from their loyalty, being equally hated and ſuſpected on every ſide. When the marquis left Dublin in this forlon and calamitous condition, he could not forbear declaring, with that chearfulneſs which has been uſually known to accompany great minds, that he expected ſome time to return in a ſtate of power and proſperity of which there was not, at that time, any proſpect; for the king was in the hands of his moſt implacable enemies, all his forces were ſuppreſſed, and all his garriſons ſurrendered.

The marquis, however, whoſe ardour for the ſervice of his maſter did not depend upon fortune, went to attend him at Hampton-court, where he was then, as he himſelf termed, an honourable priſoner, his friends not being yet excluded by violence, though, undoubtedly, very much diſcountenanced.

Here the marquis was admitted to that confidence which fidelity ſo long tried might juſtly

juſtly expect; and, when he offered to reſign the lieutenancy, in which he had been able to effect ſo little, was told by the king, That he ſhould keep his commiſſion to a time of better fortune; for that no other ſhould have the ſatisfaction of enjoying that authority which he had uſed ſo well though ſo unſucceſsfully.

The lord lieutenant then gave him an account of the ſtate of the nation which he had left; and, that his conduct might be the better underſtood, preſented a Memorial; moſt of which it is not improper to inſert.

The MEMORIAL delivered to King CHARLES I. by the Marquis of ORMOND.

NOTWITHSTANDING your majeſty's letter from Newcaſtle, forbiding any other treaty with the Iriſh; and, notwithſtanding their having failed to ſend the men conditioned for, without which, though it was queſtionable how I might have juſtified the doing thereof, your majeſty's commander in that point conſidered, yet I agreed to a peace. Soon after the concluſion whereof, I had notice of the practices of the nuncio and clergy againſt the ſame; their excommunicating of all that ſhould adhere to the peace; their interdicting all places where it was proclaimed; and

and forbiding, upon like penalties, the collection and payment of monies collected, to thoſe formerly appointed thereto by their general aſſembly. All which, notwithſtanding, to the end your majeſty might reap the fruits of a peace, I had ſo far adventured to conclude, that I went to Kilkenny, being invited thither, and informed by divers, eſpecially thoſe of Preſton's party, that my preſence would ſoon remove the cauſes, or ſuppreſs the effect of the clergy's diſcontent.

When I came to Kilkenny, I found thoſe who had concluded the peace with me, (by meſſengers from them; namely, Mr. Nicholas Plunket and Mr. Patrick Darcey) treating with the clergy at Waterford, under colour of endeavouring to appeaſe them. Much heat there ſeemed to be betwixt them, and I really believe ſome of them were in earneſt: but I eaſily diſcovered the drift of others was, either to force and confirm my lord of Glamorgan's conditions, or at leaſt to engage myſelf in ſome new ones in point of religion. But conſidering how I was limited therein by your majeſty, and how unbounded their demands would be, if I once gave way to any new treaty, I poſitively inſiſted upon their public faith already pledged, and abſolutely refuſed to engage in any new treaty with the clergy: yet I aſſured them, that, without your majeſty's directions, I would not diſpoſſeſs them of the churches then in their poſſeſſion, nor interrupt the juriſdiction of their clergy within the

the quarters poſſeſſed by them; and that I would not underſtand any directions from your majeſty in thoſe particulars to be yours, till your majeſty ſhould be reſtored to a free condition: and, further, that I would obey all ſuch commands as I ſhall receive from your majeſty to their advantage.

Whilſt theſe affairs were in agitation, and great hopes were given me, that this aſſurance would ſatisfy them, ſo as to bring me into the greater ſecurity; the nuncio, and his party, ſent for Owen O'Neil to cut off my retreat to Dublin, and to force me to comply with their terms; or, as by the ſequel is more probable, to deſtroy the ſmall party of one thouſand two hundred foot, and two hundred horſe, I had brought with me as guards; which, if they had effected, being the beſt men of the army, Dublin, and other garriſons rendering obedience to your majeſty's authority, would have been theirs with much eaſe, when their united forces ſhould be drawn againſt them, as afterwards they were.

Upon notice of Owen O'Neile's being invited by the clergy, having reaſon to be jealous of his readineſs to anſwer their ſummons, for that he had not cauſed the peace to be proclaimed in his army, as general Preſton had, with great ſolemnity, done in his; I ſent ſeveral letters and meſſages to general Preſton, and to all I thought well affected, urging them to draw together, for the making good the peace they had ſo cheerfully received, and

for the preſervation of themſelves and their country from the rapine of the northern army, wherewith they had been acquainted.

By ſome I was anſwered, That their men were diſperſed by their excommunications; by others, that they had no means to keep or draw them together; for that the collectors, terrified with the church cenſures, would pay them nothing; and to this effect was Preſton's anſwer alſo: whereupon I ſent to ſpeak with him, if any thing from the clergy ſtuck with him; but he made his excuſe, pretending ſickneſs.

Notwithſtanding all theſe ill ſigns, I yet determined to uſe all poſſible ways to try what might be done; and with this reſolution went from Kilkenny to Carrick, and from thence towards Caſtel, where the peace had been proclaimed: but when I had got within two miles thereof, I met with a letter from the mayor, deſiring me not to come thither, for that he and the town were threatened, if they received me, to be utterly deſtroyed by the northern army, then within a day's march of them.

The advance of that force in purſuit of me, the lord Dillon, and others who met me that day, gave me notice of. I was then alſo advertiſed, that Mac Thomas, as they call him, with the Munſter horſe, declared for the Romiſh clergy, and was within ſome ſmall diſtance, drawing towards me: and, being thereof aſſured by the earl of Caſtlehaven and

others

others, I quickly found myſelf forſaken by moſt of thoſe who had received and proclaimed the peace: and having not had, before that time, ſo much as intelligence of Owen O'Neile's march, though his way was cloſe by Preſton, I conceived it then high time to look back towards my ſmall party of foot, which I had left near Kilkenny; and accordingly, that night, I ſent them orders to draw back towards Dublin; and, having myſelf marched all that night, the next day I quartered with the horſe five miles ſhort of them, at a garriſon then in your majeſty's power; but, having freſh intellligence that Owen O'Neile marched faſt on the left hand of us, a nearer way towards Dublin, I haſtened, and, by long marches, came to Dublin on the thirteenth of September, having been forth about three weeks: but neither in my march, going or coming, was there any violence offered to the country, nor was there any thing taken but what was paid for.

When we were come to Dublin, my lord Digby and I conſidered what was then to be done; and at laſt determined to make application to the parliament, upon conditions, and for reaſons, to be otherwiſe imparted to your majeſty.

Not long after my return to Dublin, I received letters from Sir Lucas Dillon and Dr. Gerard Fennel, who were employed for the clergy, giving an account of their negotiation and their advices; which tending to a forbear-

ance of acts of hoſtility, I took hold of; and, in my anſwer, did, in a manner, beg a ceſſation, to the end that miſunderſtandings might be removed; and, if it were poſſible, the peace might yet be ſettled. But to this anſwer of mine there was no reply, nor ſo much as any overture tending towards a looking into the former paſſages, or reconciling of differences: but the next news I heard was of their drawing forces together; raiſing of new; and, at length, of Owen O'Neile's ſummoning your majeſty's garriſons, taking ſome upon conditions, and ſome by force, and uſing great cruelty to thoſe that reſiſted. Preſton was alſo drawing together his forces, but yet uſed no acts of hoſtility.

Whereupon I wrote letters to them both, to know what was the end and ground of their proceedings: whereon they ſeverally returned me anſwers, by which I could gather nothing but aſſurance, that they intended the taking of all your majeſty's garriſons, and deſtruction of your majeſty's ſervant: and, though, by letters from colonel Fitz-Williams, I had ſome information of Preſton's joining therein with Owen O'Neile, I could not believe, however his tender conſcience might induce him to help us, though he was ſufficiently engaged thereunto, that yet he would, contrary to ſo many proteſtations, appear actively againſt us; and therefore expoſtulated the matter with him in the beſt and leaſt offenſive manner I could: which produced no other anſwer than certain

certain unreaſonable propoſitions, whereunto I nevertheleſs returned a reaſonable anſwer, deſiring to be informed with whom I was to treat, and how they were authoriſed: whereunto I never had any reply; but, inſtead thereof, had ſuch aſſurances that they fell to deſtroying your majeſty's quarters, and at laſt to the blocking up the city of Dublin; which, for mere want of powder, whereof there was not, in his majeſty's ſtores, fourteen barrels, they had carried: if, upon ſending commiſſioners to treat with the parliament, according to what was reſolved between my lord Digby and me, we had not gotten about thirty barrels from a ſea-captain then in the bay of Dublin.

Whilſt Preſton and Owen O'Neile lay thus before the city, there arrived commiſſioners from both houſes of parliament, with power to treat, and with ſupplies of men, money, and victuals; which, at ſuch a time, being in want of food, and all neceſſaries for defence, and blocked up by two ſtrong armies, by whom we expected hourly to be aſſaulted, they thought I durſt not refuſe, upon what conditions ſoever offered; or, if I did, that your majeſty's army, and the inhabitants of Dublin, would riſe againſt me. Yet they, wanting your majeſty's directions for delivering unto them the places under your majeſty's authority, and refuſing to ſuccour us upon any other terms, the treaty broke off; and they, with

their men, were ſent away greatly diſpleaſed with me.

During the ſtay of thoſe commiſſioners at Dublin, began the treaty between my lord Clanricard and general Preſton, together with his officers; which, though I very much doubted, was drawn on, rather for fear of any agreement with the aforeſaid commiſſioners, and to break off my treaty with them, than out of any real intention or inclination to peace and quietneſs: yet, Preſton and his officers having ſo deeply and ſolemnly ſworn to ſtand to the peace, and be thenceforth obedient to your majeſty's authority, I ſuffered myſelf to be perſuaded to undertake, and do, all things that by my lord Clanricard's engagement was expected from me, the receiving of a maſtering power of Preſton's men in your majeſty's garriſons excepted; which, by all means poſſible was tried; though it was neither abſolutely agreed to by my lord Clanricard, nor by him preſſed to be aſſented unto; which preſſure of theirs, in that point, added to my ſuſpicion, that all their profeſſions were the effects of a contrivance between the nuncio and Preſton, to procure an entrance into, and the maſtery of, Dublin; as ſince it hath appeared to be.

Yet ſtill I reſolved to drive them to a point, and being thereto invited by Preſton's agreement with, and letters to, my lord Clanricard, I marched out, in hopes of the conjunction

tion of his forces with thoſe few I was able to bring, according to his engagement: but, being come within a day's march of the place aſſigned, I met with a letter from Preſton to the marquis of Clanricard to this effect: that his officers, not being excommunication-proof, were deſerted from him to the nuncio's party; and therefore he adviſed me to proceed no farther, but expect the iſſue of a general aſſembly, that was to be at Kilkenny on the tenth of January following, where he doubted not but things would be ſet right by the conſent of the whole kingdom; which would be much more for his majeſty's ſervice, than to attempt the forcing of a peace upon thoſe that were averſe to it.

Though I was little ſatisfied with that diſappointment, and feared that the power of the clergy had, to fruſtrate a peace, concluded by virtue of the beſt authority, any perſon in their caſe could delegate, would rather encreaſe than diminiſh by the time that was given them to work in; and though I could not apprehend how it could be poſſible for me, in the mean time, to maintain the army; or, when it ſhould come to want, to keep off the city, that would be raiſed for a new addreſs to the parliament, the Iriſh having ſo often deceived us: yet, that they might be left without any excuſe, I reſolved, through all difficulties and hazards, to expect the iſſue of that aſſembly: but, for the eaſe of our quarters, which were ſo waſted by the enemy's lying before Dublin,

and the deſtruction that I was forced to make upon their approach, that they were utterly unable to maintain the half of that little army.

I drew out as many more to the men I had with me, as made them, in all, about one thouſand two hundred foot and ſix hundred horſe, and with them marched into their quarters; where, notwithſtanding their provocations by ſeveral breaches of faith, aggravated by high and cruel acts of hoſtility, I ſuffered no violence to be done upon any man's perſon or goods; or any thing to be taken but neceſſary proviſions of meat and drink; though, during my abode in this friendly manner among them, the captain and lieutenant of my guard were barbarouſly murdered upon the high-way, having ſtayed at a town a little while after their company was marched away, in confidence of the good affection profeſſed by the country: and, though not only their new-elected council had proclaimed us enemies, and commanded hot war to be made upon us; but, which was more contrary to my expectation, they had prevailed with Preſton to diſavow any obligation upon him, by the tranſaction with my lord Clanricard; at length, after all our pains taken to make the nobility and gentry underſtand, how much the honour and ſecurity of their nation was concerned, in the vindication of their public faith, and in their ſubmiſſion to your majeſty's authority: after all the hopes we could

could deſire was given us by all the conſiderable men of Engliſh extraction, and by ſome well affected of Iriſh extraction; and after ſix weeks patient endurance, and very incommodious and hazardous removals, from place to place, in the depth of winter; there came forth from the aſſembly that ſtrange declaration that at once acquitted thoſe that had concluded the peace, as men fully entruſted, and faithfully diſcharging that truſt; and yet declared the peace ſo concluded to be void.

Soon after there came forth certain propoſitions offered them by their clergy, which they approved of, and ſolemnly ſwore to inſiſt upon them; which were ſuch as, I well knew, your majeſty would never conſent to upon any conſideration.

Here, I humbly conceive, your majeſty will judge there was a full period to all our hopes from the Iriſh: and now your majeſty may pleaſe to underſtand, that, upon the firſt advancement of the armies under Preſton and Owen O'Neile's leading to the city of Dublin, I applied myſelf for ſuccour to the Scots in the north of Ireland; by whoſe anſwer, ſent by one captain Cunningham, both in writing and verbally, and alſo by papers that paſſed from the Scots commiſſioners in England, and more particularly thoſe ſaid to be the ſpeeches of the chancellor of Scotland, I conceived ſome hopes, that, poſſibly, ſome uſe might be made of them for the preſervation of your majeſty's intereſt in Ireland: whereunto to invite them,

I employed my beſt endeavours, by my anſwers to Cunningham, and by ſending ſoon after him major Gibſon, a man of approved genius; but he returning to me with an unſatisfactory anſwer to my propoſitions, I inſtructed Sir George Hamilton, and ſent him from Dublin, to attend your majeſty, then, as I hoped, upon good terms with your Scottiſh ſubjects at Newcaſtle: and, in his way, he was inſtructed to make trial, once more, of the affections of the Scotch army.

He began his journey at the time I was drawing forth upon Preſton's invitation; but, through ſickneſs, was obliged to ſtay ſome days at Dundalk; and, during his ſtay there, he deſired an interview with colonel John Hamilton; which being given him, he from him underſtood the reſolution taken by the parliament of Scotland, and by their army, to deliver your majeſty to the houſes of parliament in England; and, with a ſad aſſurance thereof, Sir George returned to me to Trym, where he found me, and the party I had with me, in ſuch want of proviſion, and ſo harraſſed, that, within a few days, after having made ſome ſucceſsful inroads into the county of Cavan, for the gaining of cattle; and hearing from your majeſty's council at Dublin, that the inhabitants there, being brought to extreme poverty, flatly refuſed longer to contribute towards the ſupport of the army; I was forced to return to Dublin.

There

There, upon conſideration of our weak and deſperate condition, and of the approach of the ſpring, which would certainly bring ſome enemy againſt us, it was unanimouſly reſolved by your majeſty's council, that it was more for your majeſty's honour and intereſt, to put Dublin, and all the garriſons that remained in obedience to your majeſty, into the hands of the two houſes of parliament in England, than to ſuffer them to be taken by the Iriſh: and, for this opinion, ſome of the reaſons were,

Firſt, It was doubted it would give too much advantage to theſe calumnies that had been caſt upon your majeſty, of too much favouring the popiſh religion, if all the churches in the quarters, yielding obedience to your majeſty, ſhould be given, or ſuffered to be taken, to the uſe of that religion; and the exerciſe of the proteſtant religion either totally ſuppreſſed, or, at the beſt, be allowed, by connivance in corners, a favour not then afforded to any within the Iriſh quarters.

Secondly, It was feared it might reflect on your majeſty's honour, if thoſe ſubjects of yours, that had ſo conſtantly ſerved you, and ſtill continued ſo to do, long after your majeſty had no one place, that I can call to mind, holding for you in all your three kingdoms, ſhould, at laſt, be ſubjected to the tyranny of thoſe that then ruled among the Iriſh; from whom what uſage they were to

expect, was obvious by their frequent perfidies, by the uſage of others of your majeſty's ſubjects fallen into their hands.

A third reaſon was, upon the conſideration of the intereſt of your majeſty's crown; wherein it appeared to us, that, if the places we held were put into the hands of the two houſes of parliament, they would revert to your majeſty when, either by treaty, or otherwiſe, you would recover your rights in England, and that, in all probability, without expence of treaſure or blood.

The marquis, though he had the ſatisfaction of finding that his endeavours, however unproſperous, were well accepted, and that he ſtill retained the favour of his ſovereign, was yet, by no means, in a ſtate of happineſs or ſafety; for he was not only afflicted with the misfortunes of his maſter, who was then viſibly loſing the little influence and reſpect which his character had hitherto enabled him to retain, even among thoſe who now had him in their power; but he was likewiſe himſelf harraſſed with perſonal difficulties; the debts which he had contracted for the public ſervice were now required to be diſcharged.

Indeed he had, by his capitulation, ſix months to liquidate them; but this term being very near expired, he made his apprehenſion from them the pretext for going off privately; though the real motives were an order from the committee at Derby-houſe, dated on the

the fifteenth of February, 1648, requiring him to ſend them, upon his parole of honour, and under his own hand, an aſſurance that he would not, during his reſidence in England, do any thing in diſſervice of the parliament; and he had no inclination to be ſerved with this order. He was alſo ſenſible they were grown jealous of him, and wanted no pretence to ſeize upon his perſon, for which he had been adviſed a warrant was actually iſſued.

It was therefore prudent to provide for his king's intereſt, by ſecuring his own liberty; and croſſing the country from Acton, about ten miles diſtant from Briſtol, where he had fixed his reſidence, the better to carry on the correſpondence he had entered into with the lord Inchiquin, took ſhipping at Haſtings, in Suſſex, landed at Diepe, and went to pay his duty to the queen and prince at Paris; where he correſponded with the earls of Loudon, Lauderdale, and Lanerick, in Scotland, by the means of Sir John Hamilton; and, by the intervention of colonel John Barry, kept up, in Ireland, the correſpondence he had before ſettled with lord Inchiquin, who, ſincerely affected to monarchy and the Engliſh conſtitution, was reſolved, at all hazards, ſeeing the Independants take large ſtrides towards the murder of the king, and depreſſion of the nobility, to ſerve and reſtore his majeſty.

The marquis had not been long at Paris before agents, deputed by the general aſſembly, arrived there, from Ireland, to the queen

queen and prince, to treat of a peace, as the only expedient to ſave the kingdom. The marquis was conſulted, and gave his opinion on the demands they brought, and the method neceſſary to be followed to promote his majeſty's intereſt; to which it was thought the marquis might greatly contribute by his return thither; and he not only deſigned it, but made what proviſion he was able, to that end, equally wiſhed and urged by the well-affected among the confederates; and by the lord Inchiquin, on whom they chiefly depended; but it was neceſſary, previouſly, to reconcile ſome animoſities between him, Inchiquin, and lord Broghill, general of the horſe; which, if not removed, might much obſtruct the meaſures of the former, notwithſtanding they had equally his majeſty's intereſt at heart: wherefore he thought it abſolutely neceſſary to reconcile theſe two, that they might unite in the ſupport of the royal cauſe.

Having been aſſured of Inchiquin's reſolution, he endeavoured, even before he left England, to engage Broghill in, and found him as ready as he could have wiſhed, to enter upon ſo glorious an enterprize: nay, he found his lordſhip, generous enough to make his reſentments give place to the royal ſervice, and willing to be the firſt in his advances to a reconciliation with Inchiquin: which was extremely well received by the queen and prince: but the parliament of England alter-

ing

ing their propoſed meaſures, rendered abortive the views of the marquis and theſe noblemen.

The marquis's return to Ireland being, as affairs then ſtood, the only method that could be taken to ſave the kingdom, made him very importunate with the French court for the neceſſary ſupplies; but he was long delayed, and, at length, put off with ſuch a trifling ſum, that it was conſumed in neceſſaries for the voyage and the ſubſiſtence of his attendants before he could get his diſpatches from St. Germains and embark for Ireland. However, he arrived in that kingdom, where he was impatiently expected by Inchiquin, landing at Cork on the twenty-ninth of September, 1648, with no more than thirty French piſtoles for his military cheſt.

The marquis had now no power but from the queen and prince to conclude a peace with the Iriſh; but this, however, he got ratified by the king, then priſoner in the Iſle of Wight; and with this ratification, which was by letter only, he received his majeſty's commands to diſobey all public orders, which he ſhould give him, while under reſtraint.

The uniting Ireland in his majeſty's intereſts was the only viſible means to ſave his life, and the only propoſed end of the marquis's return to that kingdom. With this view he publiſhed a declaration, on the ſixth of October, in which he mentions his having delivered

delivered up Dublin to the parliament, with his reaſons for ſo doing. He declares, That he deems it his duty to uſe his endeavours to recover his majeſty's rights; and obſerves, that the proteſtant army, in Munſter, having manifeſted their integrity to the king's perſon and right, was eſteemed by the king as a ſeaſonable expreſſion of their loyalty. That he would employ his utmoſt endeavours for ſettling the proteſtant religion, for maintaining the privileges and freedom of parliament, and the liberty of the ſubject.

He declares he will, at the hazard of his life, oppoſe all rebels who ſhall refuſe obedience to his majeſty on the terms he ſhall require it, and endeavour the ſuppreſſion of the Independants. That, to prevent all diſtruſt from former differences, he declares himſelf fully authorized to aſſure them, that no diſtinction ſhall be made on any ſuch account; but, that all who engaged in the cauſe ſhould be treated with equal regard and favour. That the poſt ſhould be forgot, and he would uſe his utmoſt diligence to provide for their ſubſiſtence, and do them all the good offices in his power, requiring no other return than their perſeverance, &c.

The marquis, though unaſſiſted, entered upon the treaty of peace with the confederates, and, after having, with indefatigable zeal, unwearied diligence, labour, and exemplary ſteady loyalty, ſurmounted many difficulties,

culties, it was at length concluded; but not till ſome days preceding that execrable parricide was perpetrated.

The marquis was inexpreſſibly grieved when he received an account of the king's murder, though it was what he had long foreſeen, as knowing his enemies capable of the moſt enormous crimes. He immediately cauſed the prince to be proclaimed in all the towns which were ſubject to royal authority.

The marquis had many and very great difficulties to ſtruggle with, ariſing from ambitious pretenſions in which it was impoſſible to pleaſe all; conſequently the diſappointed were alſo the diſcontented: beſide the Roman clergy endeavoured to inflame the minds of the people; and Owen O'Neile, who commanded a body of five thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, of the beſt and moſt experienced of the Iriſh forces, would, upon no terms but his own, which the obſtinate Iriſh commiſſioners could not be induced to comply with, liſten to any accommodations, hopeing to make good conditions with the Independants in England, with whom a negotiation was carrying on by the abbe Crelly and the intervention of the Spaniſh ambaſſador, O'Neile deſigning to quit Ireland and enter into that ſervice.

Add to theſe obſtructions to the king's ſervice, the avarice and partiality to friends of the commiſſioners for raiſing money in the country; the great want of that and proviſions,

ſions, and the Confederates reducing a great number of forces, under pretence that the provinces could not pay them; and theſe men going over to, and enliſting with, O'Neile, it is eaſy, without enumerating more, to judge the perplexing ſituation of the marquis.

There was one remedy to all theſe evils, the preſence of the king; which he adviſed and earneſtly preſſed, both when he was prince, and after the murder of his royal father, as it would have ſtrengthened his party by the acceſſion of O'Neile; and, if not all, of the greater part, of Jones's army; have put an end to many troubleſome pretenſions, and have united the kingdom in his ſervice; which was obſtructed even by thoſe who were ſent to aſſiſt the marquis; and who, through envy to him, avarice, indolence, pride, or concealed views, ſlighted his advice, and rendered the aid he had expected from the fleet altogether vain, though it might have been of the moſt ſignal ſervice in diſtreſſing the enemy and reducing the kingdom.

His majeſty, convinced by the ſtrength of his excellency's arguments, reſoved upon following his advice, and paſſing over into Ireland; but was fruſtrated in his deſign by the Scotch commiſſioners, who were ſent from the convention in Scotland to him in Holland, with moſt inſolent propoſitions; and by the mean artifice of the deputies of the ſtates, who warmly eſpouſed their cauſe.

The

The marquis, left alone to ſtruggle with innumerable difficulties, was not, however, diſcouraged; his ſpirits ſeemed to riſe in proportion to the difficulties he had to encounter; for, with a ſmall army, without money, without proviſions, but not without diſguſts among themſelves, not entirely to be depended upon, and at the ſame time adviſed of a deſign to aſſaſſinate him, he meditated a deſign upon Dublin, which might have been eaſily carried, had others been equally vigilant, diligent, and zealous for his majeſty's ſervice. The taking of this city would undoubtedly have been the reduction of the whole kingdom, and might probably have been the means of wreſting out of the poſſeſſion of the uſurper thoſe of England and Scotland.

The marquis being obliged to raiſe the blockade of Dublin, by Cromwell's having landed there with forces, money, and proviſions; and by the death of O'Neile, with whom he was in treaty, and had gained over to his majeſty's intereſt, broke the meaſures of his excellency, and changed his ſituation from an offenſive to a defenſive war.

He was at the ſame time deſtitute of money and proviſion to keep his troops together; and by his authority, being greatly clogged by that of the commiſſioners co-ordinate of the Confederates, without whoſe concurrence he could do nothing among the Iriſh.

Being thus cramped in power, he again thought the king's preſence abſolutely neceſ-

ſary,

ſary, as that of the Co-ordinates was then to ceaſe. Notwithſtanding the marquis had written to his majeſty to wait the ſucceſs of his attempt upon Dublin, though there was no apparent danger for the king's perſon. But his majeſty having ſent to the marquis for a ſtate of affairs in Ireland, and for his opinion as to his going thither, at the ſame time ſending him the garter, though by his anſwer he gave his majeſty a melancholy account of the ſituation of that kingdom, yet he urged his coming into it, for which he gave his reaſons; but, before his letter reached Jerſey, where the king then was, the Scotiſh policy had removed from about his perſon, by the ſpecious pretences of his ſervice, his ableſt counſellors; and his majeſty's deviating from his former reſolutions, agreed to the Scots propoſitions of the like tenor with thoſe he had rejected in Holland; and was prevailed upon to deſert his father's and his own beſt friends, and bring a ſtain upon his reputation, when he had, in a manner, nothing elſe to depend upon; and, by playing the hypocrite, deſtroyed that confidence ſo eſſentially neceſſary to the honour and intereſts of a prince, that his ſubjects ſhould repoſe in his character.

The marquis, having, with unparallelled reſolution and conſtancy, ſtruggled againſt ſuch a ſweeping torrent, which had collected the ſtreams of every obſtructive evil, finding all endeavours vain; in 1650, hopeleſs of preſerving the kingdom in his majeſty's obedi-

ence,

ence, and, at the ſame time, anxious for his own character, as knowing cenſure was the inſeparable attendant on diſaſters, however unavoidable, entreated his majeſty to recall him, and obtained his conſent to withdraw; but yet would not, diſagreeable as was his ſituation, and inſincere as he found the biſhops, whom he convened to conſult on the diſtracted ſtate of the nation, prefer his own quiet to his majeſty's intereſts, and leave the kingdom, while he had the leaſt probability, on which he could ground any hope of its preſervation, the only point he had in view, and which engroſſed his whole attention; but which the power and refractorineſs of the clergy; the abſolute and inſuperable obſtinacy of Limerick and Galway; the former having received propoſitions and liſtened to overtures from the rebels without his conſent, or even knowledge, made it impoſſible for him to accompliſh; even, either to gather, or keep together, an army, or prevent his being encloſed by the enemy, and with all who withſtood them, be given into their hands by treachery.

He had no longer the leaſt hopes of ſucceſs, and conſequently his longer ſtay in Ireland could no way be of ſervice to his majeſty's intereſt, if not by preventing the different parties from making terms with the enemy, and farther his majeſty's deſigns to attack England with a Scotiſh army, by cauſing ſome diverſion in Ireland.

Theſe

Theſe conſiderations were, however, ſufficient to prevail on him not to quit the kingdom till it was abſolutely impoſſible for him to contribute any thing to the keeping it in obedience to his majeſty, notwithſtanding the groundleſs and incredible aſperſions caſt on him by the clergy, who at length rejected the king's authority, and inſiſted on his lieutenant's quitting the kingdom; nay, to ſuch a height of preſumption did they arrive, that they ſent him a meſſage, deſiring him to leave Ireland without delay; to which his loyalty prevailed on him to return a mild anſwer, though he had vainly appointed them to meet and confer with him; and they had replied, by a declaration againſt continuing of his majeſty's authority in the lord-lieutenant; excommunicating all that ſhould adhere to, aſſiſt, ſupport, give him intelligence, or obey his commands: their deſign being to throw off the Engliſh government, and to ſubject Ireland to ſome foreign Roman catholic power.

His laſt effort for the king's ſervice was the calling a general aſſembly at Loghreah, in which he acquainted them with his deſign of departing, requiring them to conſider on the moſt probable means of preſerving the kingdom from utter ruin.

Having the king's permiſſion, and being again requeſted by the clergy, he put to ſea on the eleventh of December, and, in about three weeks, after a tempeſtuous voyage, landed

landed at Peroſe, in Baſſe-Bretagne, leaving the marquis of Clanricard deputy of the kingdom; of the affairs of which it is foreign to our deſign to take any farther notice than as they coincide with what relates to the marquis, who having landed in France in the beginning of January, 1651, after a few days ſtay with his family at Caen, went, on the twenty-firſt, to pay his duty to the queen at Paris, and acquaint her majeſty with the ſtate of affairs in Ireland; which having done, he returned to his family, where he continued till the latter end of June.

He made a ſecond journey to Paris to wait on the duke of York. He there remained a month, the duke requiring his aſſiſtance in ſettling and proportioning the expence of his family to his ſmall penſion of four thouſand piſtoles a year allowed him by the court of France.

This being done, he again viſited and ſtayed with his family till his majeſty eſcaped from the battle of Worceſter, and from the purſuit and narrow ſearch made for him returned to Paris. The marquis was reduced at this time to great ſtreights, being obliged to board himſelf at a piſtole a week; to walk on foot, which is not very reputable at Paris, and his family not able longer to ſubſiſt in Caen; for the penſion granted to his majeſty not exceeding ſix thouſand piſtoles, barely ſufficed for his own table, conſequently there was nothing to be expected for his ſervants.

Theſe

Theſe circumſtances made it neceſſary, for the ſupport of the marquis's family, that the marchioneſs ſhould go over to England, and ſollicit the parliament for an allowance of her own hereditary eſtate. She at length obtained an order of parliament to authorize the commiſſioners for Iriſh affairs, to ſet apart, for a proviſion for her and her children, the clear yearly value of two thouſand pounds out of her own inheritance, with Donemore-houſe, near Kilkenny, for her abode; where ſhe continued, and never ſaw her lord till after the king's reſtoration.

The marquis attended his majeſty at Paris till the treaty between the court of France and Cromwell made the king's departure from that kingdom indiſpenſably neceſſary: wherefore, having obtained of the cardinal Mazarine barely ſufficient to pay his debts, and defray the expences of his journey, he ſet out from Paris for Spaw, where meeting his ſiſter, the princeſs of Orange, they went together to Aix la Chapelle; and, after a few months ſtay in that town, his majeſty, attended by the marquis, who had never quitted him, went to Cologne; but hardly had he been there three months, before he was ordered back to Paris, to wait on the duke of Glouceſter from thence to Cologne, Cromwell having, at the latter end of the year 1652, permitted his royal highneſs to depart England. After having conducted the duke to the king, he was ordered

to

to the Hague, to attend the princeſs royal to his majeſty.

The marquis, early in the ſpring, was ſent to the duke of Newburg, to engage him to employ his intereſt at the court of Bruſſels, to engage their eſpouſing his majeſty's cauſe, and for promoting an alliance between the king of England and the king of Spain, the duke being in perfect amity with the Spaniards, and deſirous to ſerve the king of England. He, however, for very ſubſtantial reaſons, thought any overtures of this nature might, at that juncture, rather prejudice than advance his majeſty's intereſts.

The peace concluded between France and Cromwell, another between him and Portugal, and the taking Jamaica, made it the intereſt of the Spaniſh court to diſtreſs Cromwell as much as poſſible; but, notwithſtanding the above treaty had been entered upon, it went on but ſlowly; and his majeſty, till the arrival of Don John, obtained no more than the permiſſion of reſiding incognito at Bruges; and a promiſe of the aſſiſtance of ſix thouſand men, with a quantity of arms and ammunition to make a deſcent, when he ſhould be maſter of a good port in England. With Don John he entered into a new treaty, which afforded him an immediate ſupport of three thouſand crowns a month.

His majeſty loſt no time in removing into Flanders, and from thence ſent for the duke of York to come to him at Bruges; which

command his royal highneſs obeyed, having, before he ſet out, engaged ſome of the chief Iriſh officers then in the French ſervice. His majeſty formed five or ſix regiments of ſuch of his ſubjects as were then in the Spaniſh ſervice, and of thoſe who had left that of the French, which were by much the greater number, and moſtly Iriſh. The marquis had the command of one of thoſe regiments.

The king entertained ſome hopes, from his treaty with the Spaniards, which had raiſed thoſe of his ſubjects, who ſent him ſeveral meſſengers to aſſure him of their readineſs to join him; but Don Juan, who ſaw plainly, by the account he received, that a perſon of eminent credit with the king, to conduct the deſign, was wanting, would not hazard the Spaniſh forces.

The marquis, in this exigence, generouſly offered to go to England in diſguiſe, and act in the manner that ſhould be moſt conducive to his majeſty's intereſt, either as a chief or as a ſubaltern; which was, with ſome reluctance, accepted by the king. He accordingly came over, but ſoon was convinced, that all hopes from the cavalier's zeal were built upon a ſandy foundation.

The marquis found an averſion from the government, which at that time poſſeſſed all parties; but ſuch mutual jealouſies among one another, that an intercourſe was impracticable. In ſhort, he returned with no other fruits reaped, than the certainty that all hopes of any

any thing being done by the Cavaliers, for his majeſty, were entirely vain; though the general inclination to throw off the yoke of the uſurper was ſo great, that, had the king been ſupported by a foreign force, his lordſhip thought a reſtoration would meet with but ſmall reſiſtance.

This made his majeſty ſolicit the Spaniſh miniſtry, who flattered, but failed, his expectations. The marquis, in the interim, ſtayed at Paris, in almoſt as much danger of impriſonment there as of death in London, Cromwell having ſent to the cardinal to get him ſecured.

The king, deluded by the Spaniards, ſent for the marquis to attend him to Bruſſels; but, as it was dangerous for him to go near any part of the frontiers towards Flanders, he rode to Lyons; from thence to Geneva; and, paſſing through the palatinate, went to Duſſeldorp, and from thence to Bruſſels.

The king, diſguſted with the Spaniſh miniſters, who amuſed him with vain hopes, withdrew from Bruſſels to Hookſtraten, Cromwell being dead; and the Dutch ſeemed to take a favourable turn. The marquis, to forward his maſter's intereſt, which he hoped by ſuch means to ſtrengthen, agreed to his ſon's ſecond marriage with Emilia, daughter of Lewis of Naſſau, lord of Beverweert, natural ſon of Maurice, prince of Orange; with a fortune of only ten thouſand pounds.

MEMOIRS OF THE EARL of OSSORY.

THIS young nobleman has been made such honourable mention of by all our hiſtorians, that, in this place, we ſhall give ſome Memoirs of his Life, which was cut off before his father's.

He was named Thomas, and born in the caſtle of Kilkenny, on the ninth of July, 1634. In 1647, he went into England with his father, when he quitted the government of Ireland, and ſtayed in London, till the duke of Ormond, going in diſguiſe to eſcape beyond the ſea, paſſing near the town, took him with him to France.

When his grace, in 1648, returned to Ireland, lord Oſſory was left with his brother, lord Richard Butler, under the tuition of a French miniſter, at Caen, in whoſe houſe he boarded: but, in October, 1649, they went both to Paris, to Monſieur de Camp's academy, where lord Oſſory grew expert in every exerciſe, and gained great reputation.

In

In December, 1650, he came back to Caen to his mother, the dutcheſs of Ormond. The dutcheſs ſoon after going into England, he accompanied her; where, in March, 1655, he was put, by Cromwell's order, into the Tower. There was no particular thing laid to his charge; his crime was, being converſant among the dangerous men, and one who would expoſe his life for the king on the firſt occaſion.

The guard that came to ſecure him at Wildhouſe, departed upon the dutcheſs's aſſurance of his appearing the next morning. His lordſhip was not in the houſe at that time, and Mr. Stephen Ludlow finding him, told him how matters ſtood; and, that, if he were inclined to make his eſcape, there was a veſſel ready to carry him abroad: but her grace having promiſed that he ſhould be forth coming, was againſt that ſtep, and perſuaded him to go very early the next morning to attend the protector at Whitehall. He ſtayed there, in the drawing-room, till three in the afternoon, ſending in ſeveral meſſages, but receiving no anſwer to any, till Baxter told him, he was commmanded to provide him a lodging in the Tower.

Thus, without being examined or admitted to the protector, he was hurried away thither in a hackney-coach, and there remained till October following; when, falling ill of a dangerous fever, and the phyſicians certifying

that he could not live without change of air, he was releaſed, and ſuffered to go down into Glouceſterſhire: but continuing ſtill very ill, and the phyſicians adviſing him to try a foreign air, a paſs was, with much difficulty, procured him; upon which his brother, lord Richard, went with him as one of his ſervants.

They landed in Flanders, but ſoon removed into Holland, where lord Oſſory continued, not daring to come near the king as long as Cromwell lived, for fear it ſhould be a pretence for taking away from the ducheſs the tenancy of her own eſtate; which ſhe had, at laſt, obtained and got ſettled by the favour of Henry Cromwell.

In November, 1659, the earl of Oſſory was married to Emilia, daughter of Monſieur de Beverweertz, natural ſon of the prince of Orange, governor of Sluys, and all its dependencies, and a very leading man in the aſſembly of the ſtates-general.

After the reſtoration, coming into England, he was made, by patent, colonel of foot in Ireland, on the eighth of February, 1661; and colonel and captain of horſe, by a like patent, on the thirteenth of June. On the nineteenth of the ſame month, he was made lieutenant-general of the horſe by another patent; and, on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, 1665, appointed lieutenant-general of the army in that kingdom.

In

In the year laſt mentioned, he was at Euſton, in Norfolk, when the four days fight happened with the Dutch; and, hearing the guns from ſea, he and Sir Thomas Clifford found means, from Harwich, to get on board the duke of Albemarle's ſhip, the duke being then retiring, and fighting as he retreated, to preſerve the ſmaller veſſels, which he cauſed to ſail before him, while he faced the enemy with the larger. The earl brought his grace the firſt news he had, that prince Rupert was ordered back from the weſt to join his fleet.

When the Dutch fleet preſſed hard upon the duke, lord Oſſory ſaid to him, He ſaw no help but that he muſt be taken. But his grace replied, No, he knew how to prevent that; and when, upon the danger encreaſing, his lordſhip was more curious to know how he would avoid being taken, the duke anſwered, He would blow up the ſhip. This brave reſolution was ſo agreeable to lord Oſſory's own ſentiments, that he ever had his grace in great eſteem.

He was at this time very well with lord Arlington; and, in April, 1666, contracted that alliance by this nobleman's marrying Madamoiſelle Iſabella de Beverweert, ſiſter to the counteſs of Oſſory, which cemented a friendſhip between them that laſted till fate put an end to the life of the former.

Lord Arlington always ſhewed a paſſionate regard for the earl of Oſſory in all his con-

cerns, on all occaſions, aſſiſting him with his intereſt and councils to the very laſt: and, on the other hand, when lord Arlington was going to be impeached by the commons, and the matter was debated five days together in the houſe, lord Oſſory ſtood every day, like a ſolicitor, in the lobby, preſſing the members with the moſt earneſt entreaties, and neglecting nothing till he had carried the point in his favour.

In the ſame year, the earl of Oſſory, upon his father's reſignation of the place, was made gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king; and, in June following, was ſworn of the privy-council of England.

Soon after, by a writ, bearing date on the fourteenth of September, he was called to the parliament, then ſitting at Weſtminſter, by the title of lord Butler, of Moor park, and took his place there accordingly on the tenth day of the ſame month. In May, 1640, he waited on his majeſty to Dover, when he went to meet the ducheſs of Orleans.

In October, that year, the king being deſirous to ſee his nephew, the prince of Orange, ſent the earl for his highneſs. His lordſhip accordingly ſet ſail for Holland, attended by ſeveral yachts; and, about the latter end of that month, put him and his train on ſhore at Margate, in Kent.

In February following, he waited on the prince back to the Hague; went from thence to view the French king's new conqueſts in Flanders;

Flanders; and proceeded to the court of France, with a deſign of ſerving that monarch as a volunteer, in an expedition then intended by his moſt chriſtian majeſty, in perſon, towards Alſace: but the king having altered his reſolutions, he returned, by the way of Holland, into England: and, in April, 1671, the prince of Orange ſent him a preſent to London, being a baſon and ewer of maſſy gold.

In June, 1671, the earl went for Flanders, deſigning to go to the ſiege of Brunſwick; but underſtanding there that all differences were accommodated, he returned by the Hague into England.

In January, 1671-2, he had a commiſſion to command the Reſolution, a third rate man of war; and another, in April, 1672, to command the Victory, a ſecond rate. After the Solebay fight, on the third of June, he ſent Mr. Mullys to viſit the ſick and wounded ſeamen in St. Thomas's hoſpital, Southwark; and to relieve them according as he found their neceſſities. Purſuant to his orders, Mr. Mullys gave to them he found moſt maimed forty ſhillings; to ſuch as had leſs hurt, twenty ſhillings; and to thoſe who had the ſlighteſt wounds, ten ſhillings a-piece.

In September, that year, he was elected knight of the garter, and inſtalled at Windſor on the twenty-third of the next month. In November following, he was ſent envoy-

extraordinary to the court of France, with compliments of condoleance to that king upon the death of Louis Francis, of France, duke of Anjou. He was highly careſſed in that court, and treated, in ſome reſpects, as a prince of the blood. The king preſſed him to take a command in his army, and bid him aſk what appointments he pleaſed; adding, "& j' en feray au dela. I will do even more. I know," ſaid he, "you are born to a great eſtate; yet, while your father lives, you are in the condition of a cadet." His lordſhip excuſing himſelf, the king ſent Monſieur de Louvois the next day to his lodgings; who told him the king was pleaſed to beſtow a command upon him; and deſired him to aſk what command he would have; and, that, in aſking, he might be as bold as a lion. His lordſhip returned him a compliment in anſwer; upon which he ſaid, "Come, my lord, I ſee you are modeſt, let me ſpeak for you; will twenty thouſand piſtoles for an equipage, and ten thouſand piſtoles a year do? If not, ſay what you will have, and chuſe what command you pleaſe." The earl ſtill declined the offer, ſaying he was already engaged in the ſea-ſervice of his own prince in the war againſt the Dutch. At his parting from the court of France he was preſented with a jewel of two thouſand pounds value.

In May, 1673, the king gave him the command of the St. Michael, a firſt-rate ſhip,

ſhip, and made him rear admiral of the blue ſquadron, for that great ſea-fight againſt the Dutch which happened ſhortly after. Sir Edward Spragge commanded in chief that ſquadron in the engagement, being on board the Prince; but that ſhip being diſabled in the fight, with Van Trump, and Spragge himſelf ſlain, as he was going in his boat on board another ſhip, his lordſhip lay to defend the Prince from being fired, or taken, by the enemy; and, towards night, brought her off in tow, and joined prince Rupert's ſquadron.

He was then made rear-admiral of the red ſquadron, and, towards the cloſe of that ſummer's expedition, in September, he was ſent to the Buoy in the Nore to command the fleet there lying, in chief; and to wear the flag of union on his main-top-maſt-head. This was attended with a penſion of two hundred and fifty pounds ſettled upon him, as having had that command and privilege, it being a uſual eſtabliſhment, given of courſe, or by the king's courteſy, to all who have had the honour of the flag.

It was at the latter end of the ſame year, that he formed a deſign upon Helvoetſluys, where, when he was laſt in Holland, he had ſeen, with indignation, the Royal Charles, taken by the Dutch at Chatham, lain up, with all the Maes ſquadron, as in a ſecure harbour.

Being desirous, from that time, of an opportunity to revenge the disgrace that this nation suffered at Chatham, by returning another of the like nature upon Holland, he received advice from a correspondent in that country, that this place, where twenty two of the largest Dutch men of war were lain up, close by one another, and, which, for its great importance, used to be well guarded, was then left with only a small garrison of two companies of foot; and, that the batteries, at the entrance of the port, were in no good condition.

His lordship thereupon sent Monsieur St. Paul, his gentleman of the horse, who, tho' a Frenchman, spoke very good Dutch, and, having married a Dutch woman of the Hague, had acquaintance in that town, and the country about it, to take an exact account of the place, and to bring him a plan.

St. Paul executed his commission with much industry, exactness, and great hazard of life; and, when he brought the account of it to White-hall, his majesty was so pleased with it, that he promised him a considerable reward for his pains, though he never had it. The execution of the design appearing very feasible, the earl obtained the king's orders and instructions to go, with ten frigates and two thousand land-men, to make a descent at Helvoetsluys, and to destroy the Royal Charles and such other ships as he found there.

Every

Every thing was ready; but, on the ſame night he was to take his leave, he received the king's countermand, which gave him great vexation. Sir John Narborough, who was to command next his lordſhip, in this expedition, knew the coaſts of Holland, and the port of Helvoetſluys, perfectly well, and was to diſcharge the part of chief-pilot in the action.

When the king made difficulties in the matter, Sir John told him, He would undertake, at the peril of his head, to carry in the ſhips at half flood; and the earl undertook to tell his majeſty, That he would fire the Dutch ſhips with a halfpenny candle, or he ſhould place his head upon Weſtminſter-hall, by Cromwell's, for the greateſt traitor that ever breathed.

It was, in truth, the eaſineſs of executing ſo great an enterprize, that cauſed it to be thwarted by a very great man, who was jealous of the glory that would thence redound to the earl of Oſſory. Mr. Ellis was afterwards upon the place with his lordſhip, who found the plan St. Paul had brought him very exact, and the thing as eaſy to have been executed as he had before imagined.

In November, 1674, the earl was ſent into Holland about the match between the prince of Orange and the lady Mary, daughter to the duke of York. On the eighteenth of November, 1676, he was made lord chamberlain

berlain to the queen, Don Franciſco de Melo, the Portugueſe ambaſſador, who was alſo her chamberlain, being diſplaced on a complaint of the biſhop of London for licenſing popiſh books.

The prince of Orange ſending over M. Bentick to England, recommended him by letter to the earl of Oſſory, and to his father, to aſſiſt him in propoſing the match with the lady Mary; but theſe noblemen adviſed him to apply to the earl of Danby, then lord-treaſurer, leſt he ſhould oppoſe it if moved by any other. The affair ſucceeded, and the prince had leave to come over at the end of the campaign.

In February following, the earl of Oſſory went into Holland, to enter upon the command of general of the king of Great-Britain's ſubjects in the pay of the ſtates. It was in the campaign of that year, and at the concluſion of the war, that the memorable battle of Mons was fought, in which the famous marſhal of Luxemburgh was forced to retreat, and the earl of Oſſory gained ſo much glory. The ſtates of Holland, the duke of Villa-Harman, governor of the Low-Countries, and the king of Spain himſelf, in a letter under his own hand, acknowledged the great ſervices he had performed in the campaign.

In April, 1678, he was reſtored to the privy-council, of which the earl of Shaftſbury was made preſident, and was ſoon after deſigned

deſigned to be governor of Tangiers, then beſieged by the Moors: but, as he was prepareing to go there with a conſiderable brigade, he died, in the forty-ſixth year of his age, to the general regret of this nation.

CON-

CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of the

DUKE of ORMOND.

WE left the marquis of Ormond at the time of king Charles's reſtoration. On ſuch an event as his majeſty's truſty ſervants could not but meet the rewards due to the merit of ſuch a long ſeries of adverſity, with which, ſupported by their loyalty, they had long ſtruggled; the marquis was ſworn a member of the privy-council, made lord-ſteward of the houſhold, lord lieutenant of Somerſetſhire; high-ſteward of Weſtminſter, Kingſton, and Briſtol; and reſtored to his dignity of chancellor of the univerſity of Dublin; and there he reſtored all ſuch fellows as had been ejected for their loyalty.

His majeſty gave back to him the county of Tipperary, together with the ſame privil ges and regalities which his family had, for ſome centuries, enjoyed with the other. He was, after this, created earl of Brecknock, and baron of Lanthony, in England; and, by that parliament, reſtored to his whole eſtate.

The marquis, ſoon after the reſtoration, found means to do a conſiderable and acceptable

ble ſervice to the Engliſh families in Ireland, by preventing the inſertion of ſome clauſes in the act of indemnity, which muſt have proved their ruin.

The king, in conſideration of the marquis's ſervices, made him very liberal grants; and, as his royal father had, in 1642, conveyed to the marquis, all the right, title, and intereſt, which the crown had, or might have, to the lands forfeited by the rebellion of the vaſſals of the ſaid marquis; of which grant had the marquis taken the benefit, it had been an immenſe improvement of his eſtate. The king's letters patent, which put him into the reſt of his eſtate, make honourable mention of his loyal and eminent ſervices.

The preſſage of wine, a perquiſite belonging to the marquis and his family, as butler of Ireland, having been, during the uſurpation, charged with an impoſt, the king ordered it to be taken off.

On the thirteenth of February, 1661, the marquis was joined with the duke of Albermarle, and others, to determine the claims uſually entered at coronations, preparations being at that time making for the king's. On the thirtieth of March, he was made duke of Ormond; and, about that time, being created lord-high-ſteward of England, he aſſiſted in that capacity at the coronation, on the twenty-third of April, and carried St. Edward's crown.

In

In the grand affair of the ſettlement of Ireland, the duke was inclined to do all poſſible ſervice to the Iriſh; but, as they not only rejected his advice, but even fell foul of his character, he reſolved not to intermeddle in that affair, and his name appeared not in any one committee to which it was referred, till after he was lord-lieutenant; which employment he accepted, after the duke of Albermarle had declined it, on account of the jaring intereſts of the different parties. It was the duke of Ormond's entire ſubmiſſion to the will of his maſter, which prevailed with him to enter upon an employment, the inconveniencies of which he well foreſaw; and, ſpeaking of it to a friend, ſaid, "Beſide many other unpleaſant difficulties, there are two diſadvantages proper to me; one of the contending parties believing I owe them more kindneſs and protection than I can find myſelf chargeable with; and the others ſuſpecting I retain that prejudice to them which I am as free from. This temper in them will be attended with clamour and ſcandal, upon my moſt equal and wary deportment."

Four days after the duke of Ormond was declared lord-lieutenant, the agents of the parliament of Ireland had an audience of the king; when the biſhop of Elphin, in the name of the lords, expreſſed their joy at the name of a perſon of whom his lordſhip gave the higheſt encomia, and under whoſe conduct,

he

he ſaid, the kingdom of Ireland could not but ſpeedily flouriſh. Sir A. Mervin, in the name of the commons, alſo gave his majeſty thanks for having named the duke to be lord-lieutenant; and the news was received in Ireland with public rejoicings.

The parliament of Ireland, in 1662, conſidering the great loſſes the duke had ſuſtained by his ſervices to the crown, and the expence which his grace muſt neceſſarily fall into, to ſupport the dignity of his poſt, made him a preſent of thirty thouſand pounds.

The king's marriage deferred the duke's departure for Ireland, to the beginning of July, when he ſet out from London, and arrived in Dublin on the twenty-ſeventh of that month, where he was ſplendidly received. And now all things relating to the government devolving upon him, what he had before ſeen was ſoon verified; for, though he acted with the ſtricteſt integrity and impartiality, and kept his maſter's ſervice, yet he could not avoid the reſentment of numbers, who applied to him for what he could not grant conſiſtent with his duty. Whence aroſe new clamours, and his adminiſtration was not only rendered uneaſy to him, but the courſe of his majeſty's affairs was interrupted, by ſome who were favourably held at court.

An act of ſettlement, and ſome others, were paſſed on the twenty-ſeventh of September, when he made an excellent ſpeech, well adapted,

adapted to promote a mutual confidence, and a perfect harmony, between the king and his ſubjects; which the two houſes deſired might be printed.

One of the firſt things to which the duke applied himſelf, was the purging the army by diſbanding the diſaffected. The Exchequer being empty, he paid their arrears out of his own pocket, as it was a ſervice which admited no delay.

The Fanatics in England, who meditated a new commonwealth, flattered themſelves with the aſſiſtance of theſe forces, and with the concurrence of the Preſbyterians, diſcontented by the act of uniformity, and the reſolution of the parliament to ſupport the act, put the ſectaries upon making an inſurrection, hoping ſtrength from Scotland, but more from Ireland, to ſupport their attempts. Many of the Iriſh were, by the court of claims, to be repoſſeſſed of their eſtates; which making the adventurers and ſoldiers, every one for himſelf, fear being thruſt out of the lands they enjoyed, occaſioned great clamours againſt the proceedings of that court, and the deſigns of the government; and ſome of the moſt furious ſpirits reſolving to keep by the ſword what eſtates they enjoyed, readily engaged with that party.

An inſurrection was intended, a conſpiracy formed, and a private committee appointed for conducting the affair; but the whole was

diſcovered

diſcovered to the duke. Blood was one of the committee. But, notwithſtanding this intelligence, the duke owed his preſervation to his own vigilance; for the day pitched upon to ſeize him and ſurprize the caſtle was the tenth of March, of which he had notice; but the conſpirators altering the time, and fixing it on the fifth, his informer was ignorant of the change till near the hour of its deſigned execution. The duke, however, was on his guard; of which the traitors having ſome information, the attempt was not made. Some of them fled, and others were taken.

In the year 1670, the duke's unalterable zeal for his majeſty's ſervice, engaged his protection of the Iriſh Remonſtrants. Theſe were the Catholics who oppoſed the violences of the pope's nuncio; but the Anti-remonſtrants prevailing by the ſupport of the Engliſh miniſtry, that which the duke had offered others, was the ground of general hatred which the Iriſh Roman-catholics bore his grace.

In the year 1677, the duke of Ormond was for the third time, declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland. He was received by the univerſity with all poſſible demonſtrations of reſpect and eſteem by that learned and loyal body, and with very great ceremony by the earl of Eſſex, who was to reſign the ſword to him. Soon after his arrival, he laid the foundation of the great hoſpital for ſoldiers; erected Charles-fort, to ſecure the harbour of Kinſale; and employed the greateſt part of his time in

detecting

detecting frauds in the revenue; which, as alſo the forces of the kingdom, he conſiderably augmented for the ſecurity thereof.

His majeſty, at this time thinking to gain over his enemies, took the method to make them more formidable, by putting them into the poſts of power and credit; to which end he deſired the duke to reſign his poſt of lord-ſteward of the houſhold. The account of the popiſh-plot being ſent by his grace, with its extending to Ireland, and a deſign upon his own life, occaſioned his iſſuing proclamations neceſſary for the ſecurity of that kingdom, and taking other proper methods to that end. Though the duke uſed very neceſſary precautions to prevent the threatened commotions, yet his moderation not agreeing with more violent tempers, a deſign of aſſaſſinating his grace was ſtrongly rumoured, and letters to that purpoſe dropt in the ſtreets, in hopes that his own ſecurity might puſh him on to ſeverities; but his firmneſs of mind was not to be ſhaken; and he made uſe of no harſher means than what were neceſſary, had the imaginary danger been real; except againſt Tories, or common robbers and murderers, in the perſons of their relations, who protected or concealed them.

The lord Shaftſbury (to whoſe views the duke, in retaining the government of Ireland, was a main obſtacle) in a ſpeech to the lords houſe, inſinuated that his grace was popiſhly inclined. This attack from him made the duke's

duke's friends apprehend farther deſigns againſt him, and give him their advice to come to England. He accordingly wrote to Mr. ſecretary Coventry for his majeſty's permiſſion; but the anſwer his majeſty gave, was, He had one of his kingdoms in good hands, and was reſolved to keep it ſo. It was, however, reported that the duke was to be removed; and lord Arlington aſked his majeſty, If ſuch a report was true: he anſwered, It was a damned lie; and, that he was ſatisfied while he, the duke of Ormond, was there, that kingdom was ſafe.

The king, convinced, to demonſtration, of the deſign of ſetting up a commonwealth a ſecond time, reſolving to exert himſelf, would have brought lord Shaftſbury to his tryal; but the grand-jury refuſed to find the bill upon the ſtrongeſt evidence.

This infamous partiality, however, anſwered the king's views, by opening the eyes of the people; which was ſo fatal to the Republicans that they could never recover the blow. His majeſty's reſolution to aſſert his authority, extricated him out of all his difficulties, and leſſened thoſe under which the duke had long ſtruggled; and, as the ferment abated in England, the people's minds were quieted in Ireland; where, all being huſhed into a calm, his grace had an opportunity, the king having ſent for him, to croſs to England, leaving his ſon, the earl of Aran, lord-deputy.

He

He received the compliments of, and preſents from, every town through which he paſſed from Cheſter to London; into which he was uſhered by a great number of perſons of diſtinction. In his entry he was attended by twenty ſeven coaches and ſix, three hundred gentlemen on horſeback, five of the king's trumpets, the ſerjeant-trumpet, and a kettle-drum. At court he met with an affectionate reception by his majeſty, and was immediately ſworn of the privy council.

The city of London had been poiſoned with republican principles, and the dependance that ſet of men had on juries, encouraged them openly to avow their deſigns to overturn the conſtitution. The duke was indefatigable in his endeavours to defeat the deſigns of the anti-monarchical faction. He ſaw nothing leſs than the whole conſtitution at ſtake; and theſe endeavours were not only well underſtood by, but extremely grateful to, his majeſty, who made him an Engliſh duke on the ninth of November.

In 1633, the Rye-houſe plot was the laſt recourſe, after the faction had in vain tryed to get a parliament called before they had loſt all influence. The king reflecting on the end deſigned by, and the generality of perſons concerned in it, ſaid, in his reflections in the intended aſſaſſination, That it was very ſtrange beggars ſhould contend for property, atheiſts for religion, and baſtards for ſucceſſion.

On

On the ninth of April, this year, the caſtle of Dublin was burnt; but the indefatigable care of the lord-deputy ſaved the magazine, and conſequently the city from being buried in its ruins. The duke's loſs in furniture, &c. was very conſiderable.

The king's affairs being ſo well eſtabliſhed in England, that there was not any neceſſity for his grace's abſence from his government, after two years ſtay at court, having, in June, received orders for his return, ſet out for Ireland; but his departure was, by the death of his ducheſs, retarded till Auguſt.

No ſooner had he left London, but he was attacked on ſome ſuggeſtions from colonel Talbot; who made ſuch a report to the king, that a general reformation in the council, magiſtracy, and army of Ireland, was determined; and his grace, on the fifth of September, had a hint from Sir Robert Southwell of his removal. In October, the king intimated his pleaſure on this head, and of lord Rocheſter's ſucceeding to his poſt.

On the ſixth of February king Charles died; and the duke, four days after, being ſent for, left Dublin to proceed to England, having firſt cauſed king James to be proclaimed; and, as ordered, lain down his character; which was a treatment he had little reaſon to expect, and an indignity the late king would not have put upon him.

He ſet out for England, and on the road met the news of his regiment of horſe being

given to colonel Talbot; but, notwithſtanding theſe affronts from court, he was, when near London, met by numbers of coaches, and received at his houſe by a multitude and loud acclamations. He was continued lord-ſteward of the houſhold, and at the coronation again carried the crown.

The lord Clarendon ſucceeded to the lieutenancy of Ireland; but, after a year, was recalled to make way for colonel Talbot, created earl of Tyrconnel, who made great changes both in the civil and military; and the duke loſt his regiment of foot; though he kept his regiment of horſe, which he had purchaſed fifty years before; and this was the only military employment he held.

In February, 1686, the duke retired for ſome weeks to Cornbury, in Oxfordſhire, a ſeat of lord Clarendon's lent him; and, in Auguſt, attended his majeſty in his progreſs as far as Briſtol. He after this withſtood the firſt inſtance of his majeſty's exerciſing a diſpenſing power; and, when the king felt his pulſe on the deſign of aboliſhing the penal laws, he found him unalterably ſteady in his averſion to what he foreſaw would be contrary to his majeſty's intereſt, though it might flatter the king's inclinations.

The duke being laid up with the gout at Badminton, had the honour of two viſits from the king, in going from Bath to Cheſter, and at his return. He permitted his grace to retire, and diſpenſed with his attendance at court,

court, as lord-ſteward; from which he would not remove him. His grace removed from Badminton, and hired a ſeat in Dorſetſhire called Kingſton-hall, where he died on the twenty-firſt of July; and, on the fourth of Auguſt, his corpſe was depoſited in Weſtminſter-abbey.

What has been already ſaid of this great man, renders a character of him needleſs.

THE LIFE OF

JOHN WILMOT.

IT is an obſervation founded on experience, that the poets have, of all other men, been moſt addicted to the gratifications of appetite, and have purſued pleaſure with more unwearied application than men of other characters. In this reſpect they are indeed unhappy, and have ever been more ſubject to pity than envy. A violent love of pleaſure, if it does not deſtroy, yet, in a great meaſure, enervates all all other good qualities with which a man may be endowed: and, as no men have ever enjoyed higher parts from nature than the poets, ſo few, from this unhappy attachment to pleaſure, have effected ſo little good by thoſe amazing powers. Of the truth of this obſervation, the nobleman, whoſe Memoirs we are now to preſent to the reader, is a ſtrong and indelible inſtance; for few ever had more ability, and more frequent opportunities, for promoting the intereſts of ſociety; and none ever proſtituted the gifts of Heaven to a more inglorious purpoſe.

Lord Rocheſter was not more remarkable for the ſuperiority of his parts, than the extra-

ordinary

Tringham Sculp

John Earl of Rochester

B M

ordinary debauchery of his life; and, with his diſſipation of pleaſure, he ſuffered ſometimes malevolent principles to govern him: and was equally odious for malice and envy, as for the boundleſs gratifications of his appetites.

This is, no doubt, the character of his lordſhip, confirmed by all who have tranſmitted any account of him; but, if his life was ſupremely wicked, his death was exemplary pious: before he approached to the concluſion of his days, he ſaw the follies of his former pleaſures; he lived to repent with the ſevereſt contrition; and charity obliges all men to believe, that he was as ſincere in his proteſtations of penitence, as he had been before in libertine indulgence. The apparent ſorrow he felt, ariſing from the ſtings and compunctions of conſcience, entitle him to the reader's compaſſion, and has determined us to repreſent his errors with all imaginable tenderneſs; which, as it is agreeable to every benevolent man, ſo his lordſhip has a right to this indulgence, ſince he obliterated his faults by his penitence, and became ſo conſpicuous an evidence on the ſide of virtue, by his important declarations againſt the charms of vice.

Lord Rocheſter was ſon of the gallant Henry lord Wilmot, who engaged with great zeal in the ſervice of king Charles I. during the civil-wars; and was ſo much in favour with Charles II. that he entruſted his perſon to him, after the unfortunate battle of Worceſter; which

truſt he diſcharged with ſo much fidelity and addreſs, that the young king was conveyed out of England into France, chiefly by his care, application, and vigilance.

The mother of our author was of the antient family of the St. Johns, in Wiltſhire, and has been celebrated both for her beauty and parts.

In the year 1648, diſtinguiſhed to poſterity by the fall of Charles I. who ſuffered on a ſcaffold erected before the window of his own palace, our author was born at Dichley, near Woodſtock, in the ſame county, the ſcene of many of his pleaſures and of his death.

His lordſhip's father had the misfortune to reap none of the rewards of ſuffering loyalty, for he died in 1660, immediately before the reſtoration, leaving his ſon, as the principal part of his inheritance, his titles, honours, and the merit of thoſe extraordinary ſervices he had done the crown; but, though lord Wilmot left his ſon but a ſmall eſtate, yet he did not ſuffer in his education by theſe means; for the œconomy of his mother ſupplied that deficiency, and he was educated ſuitable to his quality.

When he was at ſchool, it is agreed by all his biographers, he gave early inſtances of a readineſs of wit; and thoſe ſhining parts which have ſince appeared with ſo much luſtre, began then to ſhew themſelves. He acquired the Latin to ſuch perfection, that,

to

to his dying day, he retained a great reliſh for the maſculine firmneſs, as well as more elegant beauties, of that language; "and was," ſays Dr, Burnet, "exactly verſed in thoſe authors who were the ornaments of the court of Auguſtus, which he read often with the peculiar delight which the greateſt wits have often found in thoſe ſtudies."

"When he went to the univerſity, the general joy which over-ran the nation upon his majeſty's return, amounted to ſomething like diſtraction, and ſoon ſpread a very malignant influence through all ranks of life. His lordſhip taſted the pleaſures of libertiniſm, which then broke out in a full tide, with too acute a reliſh, and was almoſt overwhelmed in the abyſs of wantonneſs.

His tutor was Dr. Blandford, afterwards promoted to the ſees of Oxford and Worceſter; and under his inſpection he was committed to the more immediate care of Phinehas Berry, fellow of Whadham-college, a man of learning and probity, whom his lordſhip afterwards treated with much reſpect, and rewarded as became a great man; but, notwithſtanding the care of his tutor, he had ſo deeply engaged in the diſſipations of the general jubilee, that he could not be prevailed upon to renew his ſtudies, which were totally loſt in the joys more agreeable to his inclination. He never thought of reſuming again the purſuit of knowledge, till the fine addreſs of his gover-

nor, Dr. Balfour, won him in his travels, by degrees, to thoſe charms of ſtudy which he had, through youthful levity, forſaken; and, being ſeconded by reaſon, now more ſtrong, and a more mature taſte of the pleaſure of learning, which the doctor took care to place in the moſt agreeable and advantageous light, he became enamoured of knowledge, in the purſuit of which he often ſpent thoſe hours he ſometimes ſtole from the witty and the fair.

He returned from his travels in the eighteenth year of his age, and appeared at court with as great advantage as any young nobleman ever did. He had a graceful and well-proportioned perſon, was maſter of the moſt refined breeding, and poſſeſſed a very obliging and eaſy manner. He had a vaſt vivacity of thought, and a happy flow of expreſſion; and all who converſed with him entertained the higheſt opinion of his underſtanding; and indeed it is no wonder he was ſo much careſſed at a court which abounded with men of wit, countenanced by a merry prince, who reliſhed nothing ſo much as brilliant converſation.

Soon after his lordſhip's return from his travels, he took the firſt occaſion that offered to hazard his life in the ſervice of his country.

In the winter of the year 1665, he went to ſea with the earl of Sandwich, when he was

ſent

ſent out againſt the Dutch Eaſt-India fleet, and was in the ſhip called the Revenge, commanded by Sir Thomas Tiddiman, when the attack was made on the port of Bergen, in Norway, the Dutch ſhips having got into that port.

"It was," ſays Burnet, "as deſperate an attempt as ever was made; and, during the whole action, the earl of Rocheſter ſhewed as brave and reſolute a courage as poſſible. A perſon of honour told me he heard the lord Clifford, who was in the ſame ſhip, often magnify his courage at that time very highly; nor did the rigour of the ſeaſon, the hardneſs of the voyage, and the extreme danger he had been in, deter him from running the like the very next occaſion; for the ſummer following he went to ſea again, without communicating his deſign to his neareſt relations. He went aboard the ſhip commanded by Sir Edward Spragge, the day before the great ſea-fight of that year; in which almoſt all the volunteers that went in that ſhip were killed. During the action, Sir Edward Spragge, not being ſatisfied with the behaviour of one of the captains, could not eaſily find a perſon that would undertake to venture through ſo much danger to carry his command to the captain, this lord offered himſelf to the ſervice, and went in a little boat, through all the ſhot, and delivered his meſſage, and returned back to Sir Edward; which was much commended by all who ſaw it."

Theſe are the early inſtances of courage which can be produced in favour of lord Rocheſter, which was afterwards impeached, and very juſtly; for, in many private broils, he diſcovered a timid, puſilanimous ſpirit, very unſuitable to thoſe noble inſtances of the contrary which have juſt been mentioned.

The author of his life, prefixed to his works, which goes under the name of M. St. Evremond, addreſſed to the ducheſs of Mazarine, but which M. Maizeau aſſerts not to be his, accounts for it, upon the general obſervation of that diſparity between a man and himſelf, upon different occaſions. "Let it ſuffice," ſays he, "to obſerve, that we differ not from one another more than we do from ourſelves at different times." But we imagine another, and a ſtronger, reaſon may be given, for the cowardice which Rocheſter afterwards diſcovered in private broils, particularly in the affair between him and the earl of Mulgrave, in which he behaved very meanly. The courage which lord Rocheſter ſhewed in a naval engagement, was in the early part of his life, before he had been immerſed into thoſe labyrinths of exceſs and luxury into which he afterwards ſunk.

It is certainly a true obſervation that guilt makes cowards; a man who is continually ſubjected to the reproaches of conſcience, who is afraid to examine his heart leſt it ſhould appear too horrible, cannot have much courage; for, while he is conſcious of ſo many errors to be

be repented of, of ſo many vices he has committed, he naturally ſtarts at danger, and flies from it as his greateſt enemy. It is true courage is ſometimes conſtitutional; and there have been inſtances of men, guilty of every enormity, who have diſcovered a large ſhare of it: but theſe have been wretches who have overcome all ſenſe of honour, been loſt to every conſideration of virtue, and whoſe courage is like that of the lion of the deſart, a kind of ferocious impulſe unconnected with reaſon. Lord Rocheſter had certainly never overcome the reproaches of his conſcience, whoſe alarming voice at laſt ſtruck terror into his heart, and chilled the fire of the ſpirits.

Since his travels and naval expeditions, he ſeemed to have contracted a habit of temperance; in which had he been ſo happy as to perſevere, he muſt have eſcaped that fatal rock, on which he afterwards ſplit, upon his return to court, where love and pleaſure kept their perpetual rounds, under the ſmiles of a prince whom nature had fitted for all the enjoyments of the moſt luxurious deſires. In times ſo diſſolute as theſe, it is no wonder if a man of ſo warm a conſtitution as Rocheſter could not reſiſt the too flattering temptations, which were heightened by the participation of the court in general.

The uncommon charms of Rocheſter's converſation, induced all men to court him as a

companion, though they often paid too dear for their curioſity, by being made the ſubject of his lampoons, if they happened to have any oddities in their temper, by the expoſing of which he could humour his propenſity to ſcandal. His pleaſant extravagancies ſoon became the ſubject of general converſation; by which his vanity was at once flattered, and his turn of ſatire rendered more keen, by the ſucceſs it met with.

Rocheſter had certainly a true talent for ſatire, and he ſpared neither friends nor foes, but let it looſe on all without diſcrimination. Majeſty itſelf was not ſecure from it; he more than once lampooned the king, whoſe weakneſs and attachment to ſome of his miſtreſſes he endeavoured to cure by ſeveral means; that is, either by winning them from him, in ſpite of the indulgence and liberality they felt from a royal gallant, or by ſeverely lampooning them and him on various occaſions; which the king, who was a man of wit and pleaſure as well as his lordſhip, took for the natural ſallies of his genius, and meant rather as the amuſements of his fancy, than as the efforts of malice; yet, either by a too frequent repetition, or a too cloſe and poignant virulence, the king baniſhed him the court for a ſatire made directly on him. This ſatire conſiſts of twenty-eight ſtanzas, and is entitled, The Reſtoration; or, The Hiſtory of the Inſipids: and, as it contains the keeneſt reflections againſt

againſt the political conduct, and private character, of that prince, and having produced the baniſhment of this noble lord, we ſhall here give it a place; by which his lordſhip's genius for this kind of writing will appear.

The RESTORATION; or, The Hiſtory of INSIPIDS; a Lampoon.

I.

Chaſte, pious, prudent, Charles the Second,
The miracle of thy reſtoration,
May like to that of quails be reckon'd,
Rain'd on the Iſraelitiſh nation;
The wiſh'd-for bleſſing, from Heaven ſent,
Became their curſe and puniſhment.

II.

The virtues in thee, Charles, inherent,
Altho' thy count'nance be an odd piece,
Prove thee as true a God's viceregent,
As e'er was Harry with his cod-piece;
For chaſtity, and pious deeds,
His grandſire Harry Charles exceeds.

III.

Our Romiſh bondage-bre. ker, Harry,
Eſpouſed half a dozen wives;
Charles only one reſolv'd to marry,
And other mens he never ——;

Yet

Yet has he ſons and daughters more
Than e'er had Harry by threeſcore.

IV.

Never was ſuch a faith's defender;
He, like a politic prince, and pious,
Gives liberty to conſcience tender,
And does to no religion tie us!
Jews, Chriſtians, Turks, Papiſts, he'll pleaſe us
With Moſes, Mahomet, or Jeſus.

V.

In all affairs of church or ſtate
He very zealous is, and able;
Devout at prayers, and ſits up late
At the cabal and council-table.
His very dog, at council-board,
Sits grave and wiſe as any lord.

VI.

Let Charles's policy no man flout,
The wiſeſt kings have all ſome folly:
Nor let his piety any doubt;
Charles, like a ſov'reign, wiſe and holy,
Makes young men judges of the bench,
And biſhops, thoſe that love a wench.

VII.

His father's foes he does reward,
Preſerving thoſe that cut off's head;
Old cavaliers, the crown's beſt guard,
He lets them ſtarve for want of bread.

Never

Never was any king endow'd
With ſo much grace and gratitude.

VIII.

Blood, that wears treaſon in his face,
Villain compleat in parſon's gown,
How much is he at court in grace,
For ſtealing Ormond and the crown!
Since loyalty does no man good,
Let's ſteal the king, and out-do Blood.

IX.

A parliament of knaves and ſots
(Members by name you muſt not mention)
He keeps in pay, and buys their votes,
Here with a place, there with a penſion:
When to give money, he can't cologue 'em,
He does, with ſcorn, prerogue, prorogue 'em.

X.

But they, long ſince, by too much giving,
Undid, betray'd, and ſold the nation,
Making their memberſhips a living
Better than e'er was ſequeſtration.
God give thee, Charles, a reſolution
To damn the knaves by diſſolution.

XI.

Fame is not grounded on ſucceſs,
Tho' victories were Cæſar's glory;
Loſt battles make not Pompey leſs,
But left him ſtiled great in ſtory.

Mali-

Malicious fate does oft deviſe
To beat the brave, and fool the wiſe.

XII.

Charles, in the firſt Dutch war, ſtood fair
To have been ſov'reign of the deep,
When Opdam blew up in the air,
Had not his highneſs gone to ſleep:
Our fleet ſlack'd ſails, fearing his waking,
The Dutch had elſe been in ſad taking.

XIII.

The Bergen buſineſs was well laid,
Tho' we paid dear for that deſign;
Had we not three days parling ſtay'd
The Dutch fleet there, Charles, had been thine;
Tho' the falſe Dane agreed to ſell 'em,
He cheated us, and ſaved Skellum.

XIV.

Had not Charles ſweetly chous'd the ſtates,
By Bergen-baſſle grown more wiſe;
And made 'em ſhit as ſmall as rats,
By their rich Smyrna fleet's ſurprize:
Had haughty Holmes but call'd in Spragg,
Hans had been put into a bag.

XV. Miſts

XV.

Miſts, ſtorms, ſhort victuals, adverſe winds,
And once the navy's wiſe diviſion,
Defeated Charles's beſt deſigns,
'Till he became his foes deriſion:
But he had ſwing'd the Dutch at Chatham,
Had he had ſhips but to come at 'em.

XVI.

Our Black-Heath hoſt, without diſpute,
(Rais'd, put on board, why? no man knows)
Muſt Charles have render'd abſolute
Over his ſubjects, or his foes;
Has not the French king made us fools,
By taking Maeſtricht with our tools?

XVII.

But, Charles, what could thy policy be,
To run ſo many ſad diſaſters;
To join thy fleet with falſe d'Eſtrees
To make the French of Holland maſters?
Was't Carewell, brother James, or Teague,
That made thee break the Triple League?

XVIII.

Could Robin Viner have foreſeen
The glorius triumphs of his maſter,
The Wool-church ſtatue gold had been,
Which now is made of alabaſter:

But

But wiſe men think, had it been wood,
'Twere for a bankrupt king too good.

XIX.

Thoſe that the fabric well conſider,
Do of it diverſly diſcourſe;
Some paſs their cenſure on the rider,
Others their judgment on the horſe:
Moſt ſay, the ſteed's a goodly thing,
But all agree, 'tis a lewd king.

XX.

By the lord-mayor and his grave coxcombs,
Freeman of London Charles is made;
Then to Whitehall a rich gold box comes;
Which was beſtow'd on the French jade *:
But wonder not it ſhould be ſo, ſirs,
When monarchs rank themſelves with Grocers.

XXI.

Cringe, ſcrape no more, ye city-ſops,
Leave off your feaſting and fine ſpeeches;
Beat up your drums, ſhut up your ſhops,
The courtiers then will kiſs your breeches.
Arm'd, tell the popiſh duke that rules,
You're free-born ſubjects, not French mules.

* The duchess of Portſmouth.

XXI. New

XXII.

New upſtarts, baſtards, pimps, and whores,
That, locuſt-like, devour the land,
By ſhutting up th' Exchequer-doors,
When there our money was trapann'd,
Have render'd Charles's reſtoration
But a ſmall bleſſing to the nation.

XXIII.

Then, Charles, beware thy brother York,
Who to thy government gives law;
If once we fall to the old ſport,
You muſt again both to Breda;
Where, ſpite of all that would reſtore you,
Grown wiſe by wrongs, we ſhould abhor you.

XXIV.

If, of all Chriſtian blood the guilt
Cries loud of vengeance unto Heav'n,
That ſea by treach'rous Lewis ſpilt,
Can never be by God forgiv'n:
Whoſe ſcourge unto his ſubjects, lord!
Than peſt'lence, famine, fire, or ſword.

XXV.

That falſe rapacious wolf of France,
The ſcourge of Europe, and its curſe,
Who at his ſubjects cries does dance,
And ſtudies how to make them worſe;

To ſay ſuch kings, Lord, rule by Thee,
Were moſt prodigious blaſphemy.

XXVI.

Such know no law, but their own luſt;
Their ſubjects ſubſtance, and their blood.
They count it tribute due and juſt,
Still ſpent and ſpilt for ſubjects good.
If ſuch kings are by God appointed,
The devil may be the Lord's anointed.

XXVII.

Such kings! curs'd be the pow'r and name,
Let all the world henceforth abhor 'em;
Monſters, which knaves ſacred proclaim,
And then, like ſlaves, fall down before 'em.
What can there be in kings divine?
The moſt are wolves, goats, ſheep, or ſwine.

XXVIII.

Then farewel, ſacred majeſty,
Let's pull all brutiſh tyrants down;
Where men are born, and ſtill live, free,
There ev'ry head doth wear a crown:
Mankind, like miſerable frogs,
Prove wretched, king'd by ſtorks and dogs.

Much

Much about this time, the duke of Buckingham was under diſgrace for things of another nature; and, being diſengaged from any particular attachment in town, he and lord Rocheſter reſolved, like Don Quixote of old, to ſet out in queſt of adventures; and they met with ſome which will appear entertaining to our readers, which we ſhall give upon the authority of the author of Rocheſter's life, prefixed to his works. Among many other adventures, the following was one:

There happened to be an inn on New-market road to be lett; they diſguiſed themſelves in proper habits for the perſons they were to aſſume, and jointly took this inn, in which each in his turn officiated as maſter: but they ſoon made this ſubſervient to purpoſes of another nature.

Having carefully obſerved the pretty girls in the country with whom they were moſt captivated, (they conſidered not whether they were maids, wives, or widows) and to gain opportunities of ſeducing them, they invited their neighbours, who had either wives or daughters, to frequent feaſts; where the men were plied hard with good liquor, and the women ſufficiently warmed to make but as little reſiſtance as would be agreeable to their inclinations, dealing out their poiſon to both ſexes, inſpiring the men with wine and other ſtrong liquors, and the women with love. Thus they were able to deflower many a virgin, and alienate

alienate the affections of many a wife by this odd ſtratagem; and it is difficult to ſay, whether it is poſſible for two men to live to a worſe purpoſe.

It is natural to imagine that this kind of life could not be of long duration. Feaſts ſo frequently given, and that without any thing to pay, muſt give a ſtrong ſuſpicion that the inn-keepers would ſoon break; or, that they were of ſuch fortune and circumſtance, as did not well ſuit the poſt they were in. This their lordſhips were ſenſible of, but not much concerned about it, ſince they were ſeldom found long to continue in the ſame ſort of adventures, variety being the life of their enjoyments. It was, beſides, near the time of his majeſty's going to Newmarket when they deſigned, that the diſcovery of their real plots ſhould clear them of the imputation of being concerned in any more pernicious to the government.

Theſe two conjectures meeting they thought themſelves obliged to diſpatch two important adventures, which they had not yet been able to compaſs.

There was an old covetous miſer in the neighbourhood, who, notwithſtanding his age, was in poſſeſſion of a very agreeable young wife. Her huſband watched her with the ſame aſſiduity he did his money, and never truſted her out of his ſight but under the protection of an old maiden ſiſter, who never had herſelf

ſelf experienced the joys of love, and bore no great benevolence to thoſe who were young and handſome.

Our noble inn-keepers had no manner of doubt of his accepting a treat, as many had done, for he loved good living with all his heart when it coſt him nothing; and, except upon theſe occaſions, he was the moſt temperate and abſtemious man alive: but, when they could never prevail with him to bring his wife, notwithſtanding they urged the preſence of ſo many good wives in the neighbourhood to keep her company, all their ſtudy was then how to deceive the old ſiſter at home, who was ſet as a guardian over that fruit which the miſer could neither eat himſelf, nor ſuffer any other to taſte; but ſuch a difficulty as this was ſoon to be overcome by ſuch inventions.

It was therefore agreed that lord Rocheſter ſhould be dreſſed in women's cloaths, and, while the huſband was feaſting with my lord duke, he ſhould make trial of his ſkill with the old woman at home. He had learned that ſhe had no averſion to the bottle when ſhe could come ſecretly and conveniently at it. Equipped like a country laſs, and furniſhed with a bottle of ſpiritous liquors, he marched to the old miſer's houſe.

It was with difficulty he found means to ſpeak with the old woman, but at laſt obtained the favour; where, perfect in all the cant of

thoſe

thoſe people, he began to tell the occaſion of his coming, in hopes ſhe would invite him to come in, but all in vain; he was admitted no farther than the porch, with the houſe-door a jar. At laſt, my lord, finding no other way, fell upon this expedient: he pretended to be taken ſuddenly ill, and tumbled upon the threſhold. This noiſe brings the young wife to them, who, with much trouble, perſuades her keeper to help her into the houſe, in regard to the decorum of her ſex and the unhappy condition ſhe was in.

The door had not been long ſhut before our impoſtor, by degrees, recovers; and, being ſet on a chair, cants a very religious thankſgiving to the good gentlewoman for her kindneſs; and obſerved how deplorable it was to be ſubject to ſuch fits, which often took her in the ſtreet, and expoſed her to many accidents; but every now and then took a ſip of the bottle, and recommended it to the old benefactreſs, who was ſure to drink a hearty dram. His lordſhip had another bottle in his pocket qualified with opium, which would ſooner accompliſh his deſire by giving the woman a ſomniferous doſe, which drinking with greedineſs ſhe ſoon fell faſt aſleep.

His lordſhip having ſo far ſucceeded, and being fired with the preſence of the young wife, for whom he had formed this odd ſcheme, his deſires became impetuous, which produced a change of colour, and made the artleſs

artleſs creature imagine the fit was returning. My lord then aſked if ſhe would be ſo charitable as to let him lie down on the bed. The good-natured young woman ſhewed him the way; when, he being laid down, and ſhe ſtaying by him at his requeſt, he put her in mind of her condition, aſking about her huſband, whom the young woman painted in his true colours, as a ſurly, jealous old tyrant. The rural innocent, imagining ſhe had only a woman with her, was leſs reſerved in her behaviour and expreſſions on that account, and his lordſhip ſoon found that a tale of love would not be unpleaſing to her. Being now no longer able to curb his appetite, which was wound up beyond the power of reſtraint, he declared his ſex to her, and, without much ſtruggling, enjoyed her.

He now became as happy as indulgence could make him; and, when the firſt tranſports were over, he contrived the eſcape of this young adultreſs from the priſon of her keeper. She hearkened to his propoſals with pleaſure, and, before the old gentlewoman was awake, ſhe robbed her huſband of an hundred and fifty pieces, and marched off with lord Rocheſter to the inn about midnight.

They were to paſs over three our four fields before they could reach it; and, in going over the laſt, they very near eſcaped falling into the enemy's hands; but the voice of the

huſband diſcovering who he was, our adventurers ſtruck down the field out of the path; and, for the greater ſecurity, lay down in the graſs. The place, the occaſion, and the perſon that was ſo near, put his lordſhip in mind of renewing his pleaſure, almoſt in ſight of the cuckold. The fair was no longer coy, and eaſily yielded to his deſires. He, in ſhort, carried the girl home, and then proſtituted her to the duke's pleaſure, after he had been cloyed himſelf.

The old man going home, and finding his ſiſter aſleep, his wife fled, and his money gone, was thrown into a ſtate of madneſs and ſoon hanged himſelf.

The news was ſoon ſpread about the neighbourhood, and reached the inn, where both lovers, now as weary of their purchaſe as deſirous of it before, adviſed her to go to London; with which ſhe complied, and, in all probability, followed there the trade of proſtitution for a ſubſiſtence.

The king, ſoon after this infamous adventure, coming that way, found them both in their poſts at the inn, took them again into favour, and ſuffered them to go with him to Newmarket.

This exploit of lord Rocheſter is not at all improbable when his character is conſidered; his treachery in the affair of the miſer's wife is very like him; and ſurely it was one of the greateſt acts of baſeneſs of which he was ever guilty;

guilty: he artfully ſeduced her, while her unſuſpecting huſband was entertained by the duke of Buckingham; he contrived a robbery, and produced the death of the injured huſband. This complicated crime was one of thoſe heavy charges on his mind when he lay on his death-bed, under the dreadful alarms of his conſcience.

His lordſhip's amours at court made a great noiſe in the world of gallantry, eſpecially that which he had with the celebrated Mrs. Roberts, miſtreſs to the king, whom ſhe abandoned for the poſſeſſion of Rocheſter's heart, which ſhe found, to her experience, it was not in her power long to hold. The earl, who was ſoon cloyed with the poſſeſſion of any one woman, though the faireſt in the world, ſoon forſook her: the lady, after the firſt indignation of her paſſion ſubſided, grew as indifferent, and conſidered upon the proper means of retrieving the king's affections.

The occaſion was luckily given her one morning while ſhe was dreſſing; ſhe ſaw the king coming by, ſhe hurried down with her hair diſheveled, threw herſelf at his feet, implored his pardon, and vowed conſtancy for the future. The king, overcome with the well-diſſembled agonies of this beauty, raiſed her up, took her in his arms, and proteſted no man could ſee her and not love her. He waited on her to her lodging, and there compleated the reconciliation.

This eaſy behaviour of the king, had, with many other inſtances of the ſame kind, determined my lord Hallifax to aſſert, That the love of king Charles II. lay as much as any man's in the lower regions; that he was indifferent as to their conſtancy, and only valued them for the ſenſual pleaſures they could yield.

Lord Rocheſter's frolics in the character of a mountebank are well known; and the ſpeech which he made upon the occaſion of his firſt turning itinerant doctor, has been often printed; there is in it a true ſpirit of ſatire, and a keenneſs of lampoon which is very much in the character of his lordſhip, who had certainly an original turn for invective and ſatirical compoſition.

We ſhall give the following ſhort extract from this celebrated ſpeech, in which his lordſhip's wit appears very conſpicuous.

"If I appear, ſays Alexander Bendo, to any one like a counterfeit, even for the ſake of that, cheifly, ought I to be conſtrued a true man, who is the counterfeit's example, his original, and that which he employs his induſtry and pains to imitate and copy. Is it therefore my fault if the cheat, by his wit and endeavours, makes himſelf ſo like me, that, conſequently, I cannot avoid reſembling him? Conſider, pray, the valiant and the coward, the wealthy merchant and the bankrupt, the politician and the fool; they are the ſame in many

many things, and differ but in one alone; the valiant man holds up his hand, looks confidently round about him, wears a ſword, courts a lord's wife, and owns it; ſo does the coward. One only point of honour, and that's courage, which (like falſe metal, one only trial can diſcover) makes the diſtinction. The bankrupt walks the exchange, buys bargains, draws bills, and accepts them with the richeſt, whilſt paper and credit are current coin; that which makes the difference is real caſh; a great defect indeed, and yet but one, and that the laſt found out, and ſtill till then the leaſt perceived.———Now for the politician; he is a grave, deliberating, cloſe, prying man: Pray are there not grave, deliberateing, cloſe, prying fools? If therefore the difference betwixt all theſe, though infinite in effect, be ſo nice in all appearance, will you yet expect it ſhould be otherwiſe between the falſe phyſician, aſtrologer, &c. and the true? The firſt calls himſelf learned doctor, ſends forth his bills, gives phyſic and council, tells and foretells; the other is bound to do juſt as much. It is only your experience muſt diſtinguiſh betwixt them, to which I willingly ſubmit myſelf."

When lord Rocheſter was reſtored again to the favour of king Charles II. he continued the ſame extravagant purſuits of pleaſure, and would even uſe freedoms with that prince, whom he had before ſo much offended; for his

ſatire knew no bounds, his invention was lively, and his execution ſharp.

He is ſuppoſed to have contrived with one of Charles's miſtreſs's the following ſtratagem to cure that monarch of the nocturnal rambles to which he addicted himſelf. He agreed to go out one night with him to viſit a celebrated houſe of intrigue, where he told his majeſty the fineſt women in England were to be found. The king made no ſcruple to aſſume his uſual diſguiſe and accompany him; and, while he was engaged with one of the ladies of pleaſure, being before inſtructed by Rocheſter how to behave, ſhe picked his pocket of all his money and watch; which the king did not immediately miſs. Neither the people of the houſe, nor the girl herſelf, was made acquainted with the quality of their viſiter, nor had the leaſt ſuſpicion who he was.

When the intrigue was ended, the king enquired for Rocheſter, but was told he had quitted the houſe without taking leave. But into what embarraſſment was he thrown when, upon ſearching his pockets, in order to diſcharge the reckoning, he found his money gone. He was then reduced to aſk the favour of the jezebel to give him credit till to-morrow, as the gentleman who came in with him had not returned, who was to have payed for both.

The conſequence of this requeſt was, he was abuſed and laughed at; and the old woman told

told him, that ſhe had often been ſerved ſuch dirty tricks, and would not permit him to ſtir till the reckoning was paid, and then called one of her bullies to take care of him. In this ridiculous diſtreſs ſtood the Britiſh monarch, the priſoner of a bawd, and the life upon whom the nation's hopes were fixed, put in the power of a ruffian.

After many altercations, the king at laſt propoſed, that ſhe ſhould accept a ring which he then took off his finger, in pledge for her money; which ſhe likewiſe refuſed; and told him, that, as ſhe was no judge of the value of the ring, ſhe did not chuſe to accept ſuch pledges. The king then deſired that a jeweller might be called to give his opinion of the value of it; but he was anſwered, that the expedient was impracticable, as no jeweller could then be ſuppoſed to be out of bed.

After much entreaty, his majeſty, at laſt, prevailed upon the fellow to knock up a jeweller and ſhew him the ring; which, as ſoon as he had inſpected, he ſtood amazed, and enquired, with eyes fixed upon the fellow, who he had got in his houſe? To which he anſwered, A black-looking ugly ſon of a w--e who had no money in his pocket, and was obliged to pawn his ring. "The ring," ſays the jeweller, "is ſo immenſely rich, that but one man in the nation could afford to wear it, and that one is the king."

The jeweller, being aſtoniſhed at this accident, went out with the bully, in order to be fully ſatisfied of ſo extraordinary an affair; and, as ſoon as he entered the room, he fell on his knees, and, with the utmoſt reſpect, preſented the ring to his majeſty. The old jezebel and the bully, finding the extraordinary quality of their gueſt, were now confounded, and aſked pardon moſt ſubmiſſively on their knees. The king, in the beſt natured manner, forgave them; and, laughing, aſked them, whether the ring would not bear another bottle.

Thus ended this adventure, in which the king learned how dangerous it was to riſk his perſon in night-frolics; and could not but ſeverely reprove Rocheſter for acting ſuch a part towards him; however he ſincerely reſolved never again to be guilty of the like indiſcretion.

Theſe are the moſt material of the adventures, and libertine courſes of the lord Rocheſter, which hiſtorians and biographers have tranſmitted to poſterity; we ſhall now conſider him as an author.

He ſeems to have been too ſtrongly tinctured with that vice which belongs more to literary people, than to any other profeſſion under the ſun; viz. envy. That lord Rocheſter was envious, and jealous of the reputation of other men of eminence, appears abundantly clear from his behaviour to Dryden, which could

proceed

proceed from no other principle; as his malice towards him had never diſcovered itſelf till the tragedies of that great poet met with ſuch general applauſe, and his poems were univerſally eſteemed.

Such was the inveteracy he ſhewed to Mr. Dryden, that he ſet up John Crown, an obſcure man, in oppoſition to him, and recommended him to the king to compoſe a maſque for the court, which was really the buſineſs of the poet-laureat; but, when Crown's Conqueſt of Jeruſalem met with as extravagant ſucceſs as Dryden's Almanzor's, his lordſhip then withdrew his favour from Crown, as if he would be ſtill in contradiction to the public.

His malice to Dryden is ſaid to have ſtill further diſcovered itſelf in hiring ruffians to cudgel him for a ſatire he was ſuppoſed to be the author of; which was at once, malicious, cowardly, and cruel.

Mr. Wolſey, in his preface to Valentinian, a tragedy, altered by lord Rocheſter from Fletcher, has given a character of his lordſhip and his writings, by no means conſiſtent with that idea which other writers, and common tradition diſpoſe us to form of him.

"He was a wonderful man," ſays he, "whether we conſider the conſtant good ſenſe, and agreeable mirth, of his ordinary converſation, or the vaſt reach and compaſs of his inventions, and the amazing depth of his

retired thoughts; the uncommon graces of his faſhion, or the inimitable turns of his wit, the becoming gentleneſs, the bewitching ſoftneſs of his civility, or the force and fitneſs of his ſatire; for, as he was both the delight, the love, and the dotage of the women, ſo was he a continued curb to impertinence, and the public cenſure of folly: never did man ſtay in his company unentertained, or leave it uninſtructed; never was his underſtanding biaſſed, or his pleaſantneſs forced; never did he laugh in the wrong place, or proſtitute his ſenſe to ſerve his luxury; never did he ſtab into the wounds of fallen virtue, with a baſe and a cowardly inſult, or ſmooth the face of proſperous villainy with the paint and waſhes of a mercenary wit; never did he ſpare a ſop for being rich, or flatter a knave for being great.

"He had a wit that was accompanied with an unaffected greatneſs of mind, and a natural love to juſtice and truth; a wit that was in perpetual war with knavery, and ever attacking thoſe kind of vices moſt whoſe malignity was like to be the moſt diffuſive, ſuch as tended more immediately to the prejudice of public bodies, and were a common nuſance to the happineſs of human kind.

"Never was his pen drawn but on the ſide of good ſenſe, and uſually employed like the arms of the ancient heroes, to ſtop the progreſs of arbitrary oppreſſion, and beat down the brutiſhneſs

brutiſhneſs of head-ſtrong will to do his king; and country juſtice upon ſuch public ſtate thieves as would beggar a kingdom to enrich themſelves: theſe were the vermin whom, to his eternal honour, his pen was continually pricking and goading: a pen, if not ſo happy in the ſucceſs, yet as generous in the aim, as either the ſword of Theſeus, or the club of Hercules; nor was it leſs ſharp than that, or leſs weighty than this.

"If he did not take ſo much care of himſelf as he ought, he had the humanity, however, to wiſh well to others; and I think I may truly affirm, he did the world as much good by a right application of ſatire, as he hurt himſelf by a wrong purſuit of pleaſure."

In this amiable light has Mr. Wolſely drawn our author; and nothing is more certain than that it is a portraiture of the imagination, warmed with gratitude, or friendſhip, and bears but little or no reſemblance to that of Rocheſter. Can he whoſe ſatire is always levelled at particular perſons, be ſaid to be the terror of knaves, and the public foe of vice; when he himſelf has acknowledged that he ſatirized only to gratify his reſentment; for it was his opinion, that writing ſatires without being in a rage, was like killing in cold blood? Was his converſation inſtructive whoſe mouth was full of obſcenity? and was he a friend to his country, who diffuſed a dangerous venom through his works to cor-

rupt its members; in which, it is to be feared he has been but too ſucceſsful? Did he ever ſmooth the face of proſperous villainy, as Mr. Wolſely expreſſes it, the ſcope of whoſe life was to promote and encourage the moſt licentious debauchery, and to unhinge all the principles of honour?

Either Mr. Wolſely muſt be ſtrangely miſtaken, or all other writers who have given us accounts of Rocheſter muſt be ſo; and, as his ſingle aſſertions are not equal to the united authorities of ſo many, we may reaſonably reject his teſtimony as a deviation from truth.

We have now ſeen thoſe ſcenes of my lord Rocheſter's life, in which he appears to little advantage. It is with infinite pleaſure we can take a view of the brighter ſide of his character; to do which we muſt attend him to his death-bed. Had he been the amiable man Mr. Wolſely repreſents him, he needed not have ſuffered ſo many pangs of remorſe, nor felt the horrors of conſcience, nor been driven almoſt to deſpair by his reflections on a miſ-ſpent life.

Rocheſter lived a profligate, but he died a penitent. He lived in defiance of all principles; but, when he felt the cold hand of death upon him, he reflected on his folly, and ſaw, that the portion of iniquity is, at laſt, ſure to be only pain and anguiſh.

Dr. Burnet.

Dr. Burnet, the excellent biſhop of Sarum (however he may be reviled by a party) with many other obligations conferred upon the world, has added ſome account of lord Rocheſter in his dying moments. No ſtate-policy, in this caſe, can be well ſuppoſed to have biaſſed him; and when there are no motives to falſhood, it is ſomewhat cruel to diſcredit aſſertions. The doctor could not be influenced by views of intereſt to give this, or any other, account of his lordſhip; and could certainly have no other incentive but that of ſerving his country, by ſhewing the inſtability of vice, and, by drawing into light an illuſtrious penitent, adding one wreath more to the banners of virtue.

Burnet begins with telling us, that an accident fell out in the early part of the earl's life which in its conſequences confirmed him in the purſuit of vicious courſes.

"When he went to ſea, in the year 1665, there happened to be, in the ſame ſhip with him, Mr. Montague, and another gentleman of quality; theſe two, the former eſpecially, ſeemed perſuaded that they ſhould never return into England. Mr. Montague ſaid, he was ſure of it; the other was not ſo poſitive: The earl of Rocheſter, and the laſt of theſe, entered into a formal engagement, not without ceremonies of religion, that, if either of them died, he ſhould appear and give the other

other notice of the future ſtate, if there was any; but Mr. Montague would not enter into the bond.

"When the day came that they thought to have taken the Dutch fleet in the port of Bergen, Mr. Montague, though he had ſuch a ſtrong preſage in his mind of his approaching death, yet he bravely ſtayed all the while in the place of the greateſt danger. The other gentleman ſignalized his courage in the moſt undaunted manner till near the end of the action, when he fell, on a ſudden, into ſuch a trembling that he could ſcarce ſtand; and Mr. Montague going to him to hold him up, as they were in each other's arms, a cannon-ball carried away Mr. Montague's belly, ſo that he expired in an hour after."

The earl of Rocheſter told Dr. Burnet, that theſe preſages they had in their minds, made ſome impreſſion on him that there were ſeparate beings; and, that the ſoul, either by a natural ſagacity, or ſome ſecret notice communicated to it, had a ſort of divination. But this gentleman's never appearing was a ſnare to him during the reſt of his life: though when he mentioned this, he could not but acknowledge, it was an unreaſonable thing for him to think that beings in another ſtate were not under ſuch laws and limits that they could not command their motion but as the Supreme Power ſhould order them; and, that one who had

had ſo corrupted the natural principles of truth as he had, had no reaſon to expect that miracles ſhould be wrought for his conviction.

He told Dr. Burnet another odd preſage of approaching death, in lady Ware, his mother-in-law's family.——The chaplain had dreamed that ſuch a day he ſhould die; but being by all the family laughed out of the belief of it, he had almoſt forgot it till the evening before at ſupper; there being thirteen at table, according to an old conceit that one of the family muſt ſoon die, one of the young ladies pointed to him, that he was the perſon. Upon this the chaplain, recalling to mind his dream, fell into ſome diſorder, and the lady Ware reproving him for his ſuperſtition, he ſaid, he was confident he was to die before morning; but he being in perfect health it was not much minded. It was Saturday night, and he was to preach next day. He went to his chamber, and ſat up late, as appeared by the burning of his candle; and he had been preparing his notes for his ſermon, but was found dead in his bed next morning.

Theſe things, his lordſhip ſaid, made him incline to believe that the ſoul was of a ſubſtance diſtinct from matter; but that which convinced him of it was, that, in his laſt ſickneſs, which brought him ſo near his death, when his ſpirits were ſo ſpent that he could

not

not move or ſtir. and did not hope to live an hour, he ſaid his reaſon and judgment were ſo clear and ſtrong, that, from thence, he was fully perſuaded, that death was not the diſſolution of the ſoul, but only the ſeparation of it from matter.

He had, in that ſickneſs, great remorſe for his paſt life; but he afterwards ſaid, they were rather general and dark horrors than any conviction of tranſgreſſion againſt his maker; he was ſorry he had lived ſo as to waſte his ſtrength ſo ſoon, or that he had brought ſuch an ill name upon himſelf; and had an agony in his mind about it, which he knew not well how to expreſs; but believed that theſe impunctions of conſcience rather proceeded from the horror of his condition, than any true contrition for the errors of his life.

During the time Dr. Burnet was at lord Rocheſter's houſe, they entered frequently into converſation upon the topics of natural and revealed religion; which the doctor endeavoured to enlarge upon and explain in a manner ſuitable to the condition of a dying penitent. His lordſhip expreſſed much contrition for his having ſo often violated the laws of the one, againſt his better knowledge, and having ſpurned the authority of the other in the pride of wanton ſophiſtry.

He declared, that he was ſatisfied of the truth of the Chriſtian religion, that he thought it the inſtitution of Heaven, and afforded the moſt

moſt natural idea of the Supreme Being, as well as the moſt forcible motives to virtue of any faith profeſſed amongſt men.

"He was not only ſatisfied," ſays Dr. Burnet, "of the truth of our holy religion, merely as a matter of ſpeculation, but was perſuaded, likewiſe, of the power of inward grace; of which he gave me this ſtrange account:

"He ſaid, Mr. Parſons, in order to his conviction, read to him the fifty-third chapter of the prophecies of Iſaiah, and compared that with the hiſtory of our Saviour's paſſion; that he might there ſee a prophecy concerning it, written many ages before it was done; which the Jews that blaſphemed Jeſus Chriſt ſtill kept in their hands as a book divinely inſpired.

"He ſaid, as he heard it read, he felt an inward force upon him, which did ſo enlighten his mind and convince him, that he could reſiſt it no longer; for the words had an authority which did ſhoot like rays or beams into his mind; ſo that he was not only convinced by the reaſonings he had about it, which ſatisfied his underſtanding; but, by a power, which did ſo effectually conſtrain him, that he ever after firmly believed in his Saviour, as if he had ſeen Him in the clouds."

We are not quite certain whether there is not a tincture of enthuſiaſm in this account given by his lordſhip, as it is too natural to fly from one extreme to another, from the exceſſes of debauchery to the gloom of methodiſm; but, even if we ſuppoſe this to have been the caſe, he was certainly in the ſafeſt extreme; and there is more comfort in hearing that a man whoſe life had been ſo remarkably profligate as his, ſhould die under ſuch impreſſions, than quit the world without one pang for paſt offences.

The biſhop gives an inſtance of the great alteration of his lordſhip's temper and diſpoſitions, from what they were formerly, in his ſickneſs.

"Whenever he happened to be out of order, either by pain or ſickneſs, his temper became quite ungovernable, and his paſſions ſo fierce that his ſervants were afraid to approach him; but, in his laſt ſickneſs, he was all humility, patience, and reſignation. Once he was a little offended with the delay of a ſervant, who he thought made not haſte enough with ſomewhat he called for, and ſaid, in a little heat, 'That damn'd fellow.'

"Soon after," ſays the doctor, "I told him that I was glad to find his ſtile ſo reformed, and that he had ſo entirely overcome that ill habit of ſwearing, only that word of calling

calling any damned, which had returned upon him, was not decent; his anſwer was, 'Oh! that language of fiends, which was ſo familiar to me, hangs yet about me; ſure none has deſerved more to be damned than I have done!' And, after he had humbly aſked God pardon for it, he deſired me to call the perſon to him that he might aſk him forgiveneſs; but I told him that was needleſs, for he had ſaid it of one who did not hear it, and ſo could not be offended by it.

"In this diſpoſition of mind," continues the biſhop, "he remained all the while I was with him, four days together. He was then brought ſo low, that all hope of recovery was gone; much purulent matter came from him with his urine, which he paſſed always with pain, but one day with inexpreſſible torment; yet he bore it decently, without breaking out into repinings, or impatient complaints. Nature being at laſt quite exhauſted, and all the floods of life gone, he died, without a groan, on the twenty-ſixth of July, 1680, in the thirty-third year of his age.

"A day or two before his death he lay much ſilent, and ſeemed extremely devout in his contemplations. He was frequently obſerved to raiſe his eyes to Heaven, and ſend forth ejaculations to the Searcher of hearts, who ſaw his penitence, and who, he hoped, would forgive him."

Thus

Thus died lord Rocheſter, an amazing inſtance of the goodneſs of God, who permitted him to enjoy time, and inclined his heart to penitence. As by his life he was ſuffered to ſet an example of the moſt abandoned diſſoluteneſs to the world; ſo, by his death, he was a very lively demonſtration of the fruitleſneſs of vicious courſes, and may be propoſed, as an example, to all thoſe who are captivated with the charms of guilty pleaſure.

Let all his failings now ſleep with him in the grave, and let us only think of his cloſing moments, his penitence and reformation. Had he been permitted to have recovered his illneſs, it is reaſonable to preſume he would have been as lively an example of virtue as he had ever been of vice, and have born his teſtimony in favour of our religion.

He left behind him a ſon named Charles, who dying on the twelfth of November, was buried by his father on the ſeventh of December following. He alſo left behind him three daughters. The male line ceaſing, Charles II. conferred the title of earl of Rocheſter on Lawrence viſcount Killingworth, a younger ſon of Edward earl of Clarendon.

We might now enumerate his lordſhip's writings, of which we have already given ſome character; but unhappily for the world they are too generally diffuſed, and we think ourſelves

ourſelves under no obligations to particularize thoſe works which have been ſo fruitful of miſchief to ſociety, by promoting a general corruption of morals; and which he himſelf, in his laſt moments, wiſhed he could recal, or, rather, that he never had compoſed.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

BRITISH MUSEUM
29
72
FEB